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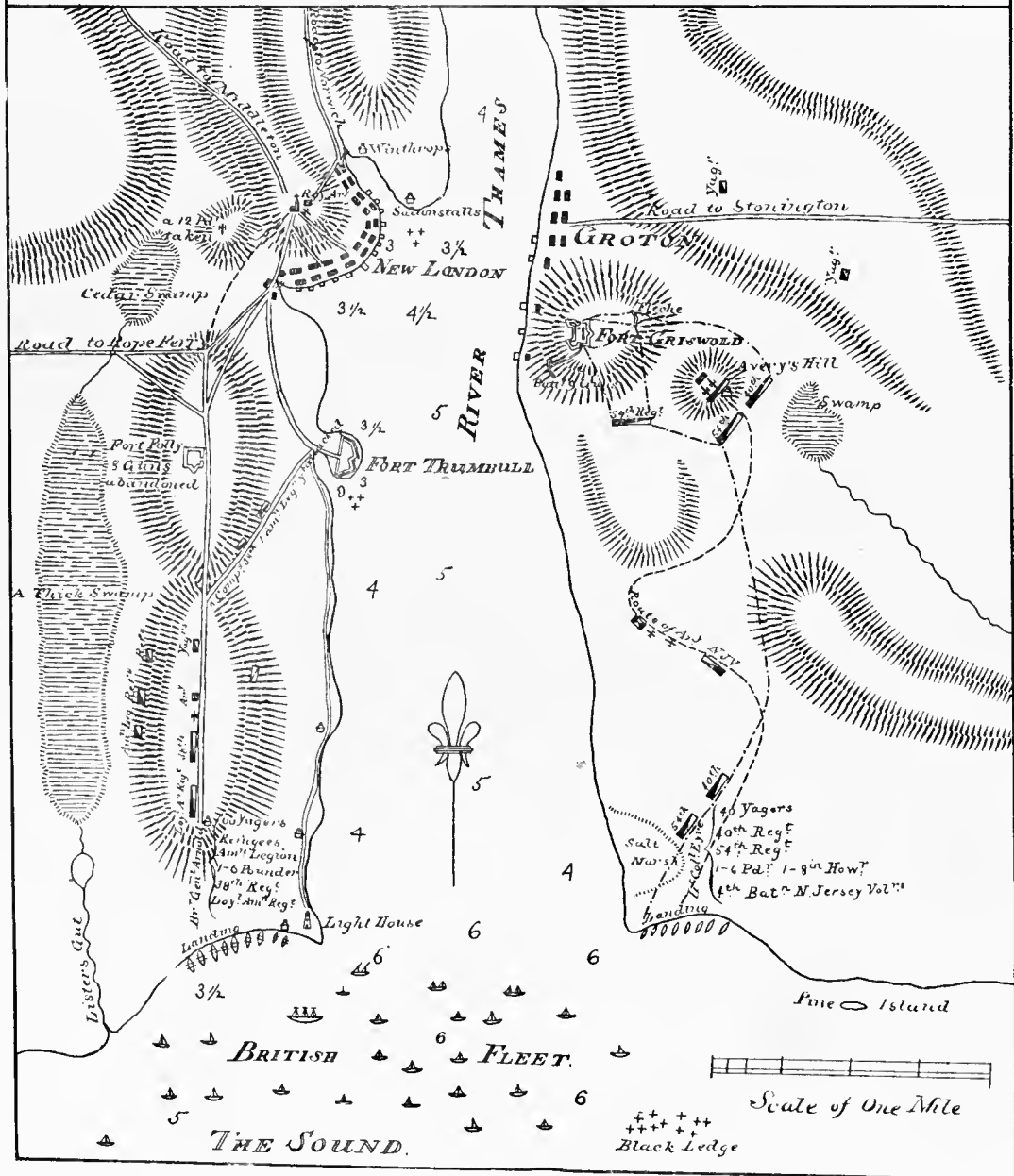
GIFT OF

Mr. [Name]

Number Seventeen of the edition of One Hundred
Charles Allen

A SKETCH of NEW LONDON & GROTON

with the Attacks made on.
FORTS TRUMBULL & GRISWOLD by the **BRITISH TROOPS**
under the Command of **BRIG^{AD} GEN^L ARNOLD** Sep^r 6th 1781.



THE BATTLE
OF
GROTON HEIGHTS:

A COLLECTION OF NARRATIVES, OFFICIAL REPORTS,
RECORDS, ETC.

OF THE

STORMING OF FORT GRISWOLD,

THE MASSACRE OF ITS GARRISON, AND THE BURNING OF NEW
LONDON BY BRITISH TROOPS UNDER THE COMMAND
OF BRIG.-GEN. BENEDICT ARNOLD,

ON THE SIXTH OF SEPTEMBER, 1781.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES.

By WILLIAM W. HARRIS.

ILLUSTRATED WITH ENGRAVINGS AND MAPS.

REVISED AND ENLARGED, WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES,

By CHARLES ALLYN.

"Zebulon and Naphtali were a people that jeopardized their lives unto the death in the high places
of the field." — *Judges*, 5 *Chapt.* 18 *Verse*.

[Inscription on Monument.]

NEW LONDON, CT.:
CHARLES ALLYN.

1882.

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IN the History of Connecticut, written by "A gentleman of the province" (Rev. Samuel A. Peters), and printed in 1781, are many things which show that this Colony was filled very early with revolutionary sentiments, and became an object of extreme hostility among the British. He says that Governor Trumbull wrote a letter April 28, 1775, to General Gage, at Boston, from which he quotes as follows: "But at the same time, we beg leave to assure your Excellency that, as they [the people of this Colony] apprehend themselves justified by the principles of self-defence, so they are most firmly resolved to defend their rights and privileges to the last extremity; nor will they be restrained from giving aid to their brethren, if any unjustifiable attack is made upon them." He adds, of the Colony: "They had commissioned Motte and Phelps to draft men from the militia . . . for a secret expedition which proved to be against Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and the treasurer of the Colony, by order of the Governor and Council, had paid £1,500 to bear their expenses." After these remarks he adds: "Thus did Connecticut, from its hot-bed of fanaticism and sedition, produce the first indubitable overt act of high treason in the present rebellion, by actually levying war, and taking, *vi et armis*, the King's forts and stores; AND, MOST PROBABLY ITS OBSTINACY WILL RENDER THIS THE LAST OF ALL THE REVOLTED STATES TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE SUPREMACY OF PARLIAMENT."

Though Peters has not been accepted as good historical authority, this shows such a knowledge of the spirit of the people that the account of this fight against almost hopeless odds seems but the fulfilment of his prophecy.

PREFACE.

As will be seen by the dates, these different narratives were called forth by the interest freshly awakened in this event by the laying of the corner-stone, building, and dedication of the Groton Heights Monument. It is to be regretted that more thorough measures were not taken at that time to preserve for future generations more of the instances of self-sacrifice and heroic devotion to duty on the 6th of September, 1781. Many of these are now forever lost to the world.

The interest again awakened by the approaching centennial seems to call for an effort to supply as far as possible the omission of the past by a gathering together of all the facts now obtainable, relating to the old Fort Griswold and its defenders, both those who were so fortunate (since all must die) as to give up life in so glorious a cause and in so eminent a position, and these who, equally accepting the risks of battle and doing their utmost in defence of home and country, were more fortunate in living to enjoy the fruits of their labors, in the freedom and prosperity of the nation. I have here endeavored to embalm the names of all who were willing to risk their lives on that 6th of September in defence of their country by resisting the attack on New London and Groton.

The names of only a part of the wounded or killed have ever before appeared in any printed list, while no effort has been made to give the names of those carried away prisoners. These omissions I have endeavored to supply, and in this effort I have been greatly aided by the now prevalent interest so deeply awakened in the minds of the inhabitants of the county, and particularly among the descendants of the heroic dead. I have also been assisted in my work by the collections of the New London County Historical Society, the Connecticut and New York Historical Societies, the custodians of the Archives of our State, and the Commissioner of

Pensions at Washington. The cordial good-will of many of our citizens has brought me family traditions, old letters and papers, beside calling my attention to other treasures which I could examine. I have been almost universally kindly received, welcomed, and heartily encouraged. The narrative of Thomas Hertell has never been in print before ; the manuscript was given to me, but the gentleman who knew about him is dead, and I can get no information of who he was, but have no doubt he was of the family to whom "John Hartell" belonged, whose workshop on Main Street was among those burned by the enemy. Several persons of the name of Hertell are buried in the old burying ground. The narrative of Major George Middleton, first gathered from a local newspaper, was kindly furnished by his kinsman, Rev. John C. Middleton, now rector of St. Paul's, Glen Cove, N. Y. The publication of this work in 1870, by W. W. Harris, was the first attempt to give a complete and perfect account of this battle, and of the destruction of our town, and is the basis of the present work, which contains more than twice the matter of the old edition. The criticism which every new book receives may serve to bring to light incidents and family traditions that have escaped me.

Let not the worthy deeds of our ancestors pass out of mind.

A.

NEW LONDON, July, 1881.

PREFATORY NOTE

TO EDITION OF 1870.

THE actors in the bloody scene at Groton and New London, on the 6th of September, 1781, have long since been gathered to their fathers, and those who with boyish awe heard its vivid recollections from their lips are becoming aged and fast following them. A fear that, as with each year the event receded into the past, the details would become more dim, until all that remained of its features would be the outlines in the nation's history, led to the attempt, as far as possible, of gathering all information upon the subject with a view to its preservation.

It is true that valuable and interesting accounts of this event have been given to the public, but, with the exception of Rathbun's edition of Hempstead's and Avery's Narratives (published in 1840 and now virtually out of print), they are embodied in large and expensive volumes of extraneous history, which by many would be thought too costly. A farther reason for publishing this work was, that all histories before published are but partial; extracts from reports and narratives are given, but a full and complete collection of all papers bearing upon the subject has never been made.

The writer felt that its importance in history, particularly in that of his own town and State, warranted a full account in a volume especially devoted to the purpose; a conviction strengthened by expressions of approval from friends in whose opinions he has great confidence. The plan of publication has been to present the reader with the contemporaneous accounts as given by each side in order to allow him to draw his own conclusions regarding the event. To carry out this plan fully it is necessary to publish what it is feared will, to some, appear dry, uninteresting details, yet which are indispensable to a complete work; for example, the reports of the Court Martial and the Memorial from citizens of New London to the

Governor and Council of Safety, which, although they add no new facts of interest to the action proper, throw much light upon the actual condition of New London for defence at that time, and relieve the reputation of an officer from an unjust imputation which has, from public ignorance in the matter, clouded it to the present day.

The narrative of the late Jonathan Brooks, and especially that of the quaint John Hempsted, showing the serio-comic side of the tragedy, will, in their amusing truthfulness, it is thought, more than compensate for the barrenness and dry detail inseparable from official reports.

These narratives, as also that of Dr. Downer, have never before been published. In all of them the peculiar orthography of the authors has been scrupulously preserved, as an attempt to change to our modern style might, in some cases, also alter the sense from that intended. In the preparation of the notes in the text great care has been taken to make no statement as *positive* in which there is the least shade of doubt ; when made by extract the authority is given ; and when suggested by probabilities it is so expressed.

H.

NEW LONDON, July, 1870.



INTRODUCTION.

IN the latter part of the summer of 1781 Sir Henry Clinton, commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, became apprised, by intercepted letters,¹ written by Washington, of a meditated attack upon New York by the allied French and American forces. Acting on this information, he called to his aid a considerable portion of the "Army of the South," under Cornwallis.

On this fact becoming known to Washington, he immediately reversed his entire plan of proposed operation, and determined to fall upon Cornwallis with an overwhelming force before Sir Henry Clinton should

¹ To what extent Washington was surprised and annoyed by the capture of these letters may be judged by the extract given below, taken from his letter of July, 1788, to Hon. Noah Webster, now in possession of Gordon L. Ford, Esq., of Brooklyn, N. Y., from which he has permitted me to copy: —

. . . "I only add that it never was in contemplation to attack New York unless the garrison should first have been so far degarnished to carry on the southern operations as to render our success in the siege of that place as infallible as any future military event can ever be made. . . . That much trouble was taken and finesse used to misguide and bewilder Sir Henry Clinton in regard to the real object, by fictitious communications, as well as by making a deceptive provision of Ovens, Forage & Boats in his neighborhood, is certain. Nor were less pains taken to deceive our own Army; for I had always conceived, when the imposition did not completely take place at home, it could never sufficiently succeed abroad."

be able to amend his mistake by reinforcing the Earl. Washington gladly adopted a movement in which the prospects were good of retrieving the fortunes of the American arms in the South, which, under command of General Greene, had, except in two or three unimportant skirmishes, been disastrous during the campaign of that year.

To completely distract the attention of Sir Henry from his true design, Washington, while vigorously perfecting his plans of organization, preserved a formidable appearance of design against New York. Count de Grasse, who had recently arrived from France with a powerful naval force, was ordered to the Chesapeake, to act in conjunction with an allied army which had quietly been withdrawn from the North and despatched to that point. So discreetly and with so much secrecy was this important movement conducted that Sir Henry was not aware of it until too late to prevent, by reinforcements, its probable disastrous consequences upon his lieutenant.

On acquaintance with the fact, and realizing the impossibility of strengthening Cornwallis in time, he resolved, as a last resort, to send an expedition against a Northern port still in possession of the Americans.

By this measure he hoped to induce Washington to recall either the whole or a great part of his expedition in order to protect the threatened point. A strong American army of observation still menaced New York, and he therefore could not prudently withdraw from its defence a sufficient force to make the attempt on a distant or strongly fortified point; yet at the same time it was necessary that the point attacked and the apparent consequence of its fall should be of sufficient importance to divert Washington from his descent on Cornwallis.

New London, above all others, appeared the proper point. Its deep and capacious harbor, in the event of a permanent lodgment, would be unequalled as a station and rendezvous for the immense naval force expected from England in the following spring. It was within a few hours' sail of New York, and in case the attack upon it should be unsuccessful the retreat would be open and safe. From its port swarmed the dreaded privateers, which, while by their captures they furnished the rebels with stores and munitions with which to continue the war, at the same time cut off the supplies and weakened the royal armies' powers of offence. By the capture of the harbor their great rendezvous would be broken up. Beside these very strong reasons were others no less important. Should its reduction be followed by permanent occupation it would open a most favorable route for the invasion of Central New England, for a large portion of which it was the natural port. In addition to all other incentives for its attack was the rich prospect of immediate plunder. At this time the accumulation of captured military and other stores here was immense, the cargo of the merchant ship *Hannah* alone being valued at four hundred thousand dollars. The fortifications were comparatively small and inefficiently garrisoned. The regular garrisons consisted nominally of one company of artillery and one of infantry in each, — Fort Trumbull on the west or New London side, and Fort Griswold on the opposite or Groton side, of the river. A small battery on Town Hill, known as Fort Nonsense, was manned by detachments from Trumbull. Captain Adam Shapley commanded the artillery, and was senior officer of the latter fort. William Latham was captain of artillery, and Oliver Coit of infantry, at Fort Griswold.

Colonel William Ledyard commanded the military district, comprising the towns of New London and Groton, the harbor and its defences.

At this time the garrisons, which were very seldom, if ever, full, were especially depleted; most of the men who were capable of bearing arms were either in the armies operating in the field, or, as was more generally the case, were, by the force of habit and the associations of a people peculiarly maritime, drawn into either the public or private naval service.¹

All these advantages for attack being offered by New London, Sir Henry Clinton decided to equip a force with all possible despatch for its reduction. Arnold had just returned from a predatory incursion on the Southern coasts, and his success on that, no less than his peculiar fitness for this expedition to the neighborhood of his early home, induced the commander-in-chief to intrust its conduct to him. There is no doubt that the intention of the enemy was to enter the harbor at night, and in the surprise seize the shipping and forts, make the garrisons prisoners, and, after making themselves masters of the town, load their transports with the rich plunder, and despatch them with the captured vessels to New York.

All this the enemy reasonably supposed could be accomplished,—the sloops-of-war brought before the town

¹ In the State archives at Hartford is a petition to the Legislature of 1787, by Amos Prentice, Peter Avery, and Robert Allyn, selectmen of the town of Groton, asking remission of a fine of £60 for being four men short on the town's quota of 1781: for the reason it was not possible to enlist them before September 6, so many being already in service, on the seas and in the sea-coast defence, and "on said day about 70 men were killed and many wounded and carried away prisoners."

There was "allowed only such remission of the fine as would come out of sufferers who have had taxes abated."

and the forts garrisoned by British soldiers before the alarm could be given by the inhabitants. When once in possession, the holding of the forts and town by these disciplined troops, with their facilities for communicating with New York, against the untrained militia, would be a matter of comparative ease. In case the capture did not recall Washington, a safe base from which to make an invasion of New England would be secured. On the afternoon of Sept. 4th the fleet of transports and sloops-of-war, under command of Captain Beazley in the *Amphion*, weighed anchor, and under easy sail proceeded with a fair wind down the Sound toward its objective point. On the following day, the 5th, at two P. M., it came to anchor under Long Island shore, directly across from and within about thirty miles of New London. The reason of this delay was to avoid appearing off New London before darkness should cover their approach. Thus far all had apparently tended to the enemy's advantage, but now they miscalculated on the continuance of the wind in their favor. Along the New England coast, during the summer and early autumn, — with a regularity almost unbroken, except by storms, — the wind, soon after twelve o'clock, M., commences to blow from the south and west, gradually decreasing in force, until at about three o'clock in the morning, when, after a short period of rest (like the turning of the tide), it begins to blow from the north and west, in which direction it continues until at not far from eleven A. M., when it is succeeded by a calm, followed by a southerly breeze.

The British officers calculated on this south wind continuing as usual, and by availing themselves of it, expected to arrive off the town at from about mid-

night to an hour later. They accordingly weighed anchor at seven P. M., not doubting that the five or six miles an hour required to reach New London by the appointed time would be easily accomplished. In this they were disappointed. The south wind died away, and was succeeded by that from the north nearly two hours earlier than usual; so that by beating, the fleet was just able to arrive at the mouth of the harbor at nine o'clock in the morning, — some four or five hours after it had been observed from the forts, and its approach heralded to the startled country by the alarm guns. As soon as the hostile intentions of the enemy were manifest, Colonel Ledyard repaired to New London, and despatched expresses to Governor Trumbull at Lebanon and the various militia commanders in the neighboring towns, apprising them of his danger, and soliciting aid in making a stand in defence of their homes and the honor of their country. He then recrossed the river to Fort Griswold, and prepared, so far as his limited means would allow, to meet the storm which he saw was inevitable. . . . We have now arrived at the point in the history of that eventful day at which begins the graphic description of its bloody scenes by participants. As it is no part of the plan of this work to give a new version of the battle, but rather to preserve the old, these introductory remarks properly close here, and give place to the story as related by eye-witnesses and their contemporaries.





AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
BURNING OF NEW LONDON,
ON THE
6TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1781.

From the Connecticut Gazette of Friday, September 7th.¹

AT about day-break on Thursday morning last, twenty-four sail of the enemy's shipping appeared to the westward of this harbor, which by many were supposed to be a plundering party after stock.

Alarm guns were immediately fired, but the discharge of cannon in the harbor has become so frequent of late that they answered little or no purpose.²

¹ The date of this paper on the title-page is 7th, but this account begins near the end of column 1, page 3, under date "10th." "We had prepared our paper thus far for publication when," etc., as above.

² During the war the privateers which swarmed from New London were in the habit of announcing their successes on their return to port by firing salutes from their guns. Colonel Samuel McClellan, of Woodstock (great-grandfather of General G. B. McClellan), who, after the death of Colonel Ledyard, assumed command of New London harbor and its defences, soon after the battle forbade the firing of guns in the harbor, except in hostilities with the enemy, by the following order:—

"Whereas the promiscuous firing of Cannon confuses the proper Signals and hath repeatedly alarmed the Country:—The Commanders of Privateers and other armed Vessels are hereby requested to discontinue the Practice, and on no Pretence to fire a Cannon while riding in the Harbour of New London.

SAMUEL M'CLELLAN,

"Colonel Commandant.

"NEW LONDON, Octo. 18th, 1781."

The defenceless state of the fortifications and town are obvious to our readers. A few of the inhabitants who were equipped advanced toward the place where the enemy were tho't likely to make their landing, and manœuvred on the heights adjacent, until the enemy, about 9 o'clk, landed in two divisions of about 800 men each, one of them at Brown's farm near the light-house, the other at Groton point. The division that landed near the light-house marched up the road, keeping out large flanking parties, who were attacked in different places on their march by the inhabitants who had spirit and resolution to oppose their progress; the main body of the enemy proceeded to the town and set fire to the stores on the beach,¹ and immediately after to the dwelling-houses lying on the Mill Cove. The scattered fire of our little parties unsupported by our neighbours more distant galled them, so that they soon began to retire, setting fire to stores and dwelling-houses promiscuously in their way; the fire from the stores communicated to the shipping that lay at the wharfs, and a number were burnt; others swung to single masts and remained unburnt. At 4 o'clk they began to quit the town with great precipitation, and were pursued by our brave citizens with the spirit of veterans and drove on board their boats. Five of the enemy were killed and about 20 wounded. Among the latter is a Hessian captain, who is a prisoner, as are seven others. We lost four killed and ten or twelve wounded — none mortal. The most valuable part of the town is reduced to ashes, and all the stores. Fort Trumbull not being

¹ What was then known as "the beach" is now Water Street. It at that time was the business part of the town. On it were the public and large private store-houses.

tenable on the land side, was evacuated as the enemy advanced, and the few men in it crossed the river to Fort Griswold, on Groton Hill, which was soon after invested by the division that landed on the point. The fort having in it only 120 men, chiefly militia, hastily collected, who defended it with the greatest resolution and bravery, and once repulsed the enemy, but the fort being out of repair could not be defended by such a handful of men, tho' brave and determined, against so superior a number, they did ALL that men of spirit and bravery in such a situation could do; but after having a number of their party killed and wounded they found that further resistance would be in vain, and resigned the fort. Immediately on their surrendery the valient Colonel Ledyard, whose fate in a particular manner is much lamented, and 70 other officers and men, were murdered, most of them heads of families. The enemy lost a Major Montgomery and forty-one officers and men in the attack, who were found near the fort; their wounded were carried off. Soon after the enemy got possession of the fort they set fire to and burnt a number of dwelling-houses and stores on Groton bank, and embarked about sunset, taking with them sundry of the inhabitants of New London and Groton. A Colonel Ayres,¹ who commanded the division, was wounded, and it is said died on board the fleet the night they embarked.

About 15 sail of vessels with effects of the inhabitants retreated up the river on the approach of the enemy, and were saved, and four others remained in the harbour unhurt. The troops were commanded by that infamous traitor to his country, Benedict Arnold,

¹ Eyre.

who headed the division which proceeded to the town. By this calamity it is judged that more than one hundred families are deprived of their habitations, and most of them their ALL. This neighborhood feel sensibly the loss of many deserving citizens, and, tho' deceased, canst but be highly indebted to them for their spirit and bravery in their exertions and manly opposition to the merciless enemies of our country in their last moments.

From the same Paper of September 14th, 1781.

The following savage action, committed by the troops who subdued Fort Griswold on Groton hill, on Thursday last, ought to be recorded to their eternal infamy :

Soon after the surrendery of the fort they loaded a wagon with our wounded men, by orders of their officers,¹ and set the wagon off from the top of the hill, which is long and very steep; the wagon went a considerable distance with great force, till it was suddenly stopped by a tree; the shock was so great to those faint and bleeding men that part of them died instantly; the officers ordered their men to fire on the wagon while it was running.²

¹ This order for the removal of the wounded was no doubt given by the officers with the best intentions, since their orders were to burn the barracks and blow up the magazine (see Arnold's report to Clinton), — a course naturally involving the death of every one in the fort when the fire and explosion should come. This order for removal was carried out by the soldiery with a most villainous disregard of the comfort of the wounded, throwing them on top of each other like logs.

Mr. Andrew Gallup, wounded in the hip, and who died in Ledyard (Groton), March 16th, 1853, in speaking of the battle, said to a well-known citizen : " I had the honor to ride down-hill in that wagon. Some of them meant well enough, and chained the wheel; but the chain broke, so they let us go."

² This is the only mention of this circumstance I have been able to

From the same Paper of September 21st, 1781.

Arnold's burning fleet, after leaving this harbour, plundered great part of the inhabitants on Long Island; 400 of them landed at Southold, and plundered and carried off to the value of £3,000.

Monday seⁿnight a flag sailed from hence with five of Arnold's burning party that were taken prisoners here; the flag overtook the fleet at Whitestone, and returned here last Sunday with five lads that were taken at Fort Griswold.

Since our last 7 or 8 dead bodies of officers and soldiers have drove ashore on the Great Neck, and 3 others on Groton shore which were thrown out of Arnold's burning fleet. Our advices from New York are that the enemy lost 220 men, killed and dead of their wounds, in their attack on Groton Fort and this place, besides about 70 deserters.

The following is the most accurate list¹ we have been able to collect of the names of the brave and worthy citizens who were murdered at Fort Griswold, Sept. 6, 1781, including those who have since died of their wounds.

The whole number of killed and those since died of their wounds is said to be 82. Should we be able to collect the names of the others, they shall be published.

find. It seems unaccountable that Avery, Hempstead, and the rest of the eye-witnesses should have overlooked, or forgotten to mention, so atrocious an action, if true; yet it is singular that so careful an editor as Timothy Green gave circulation to a statement so wide of the facts.

¹ This list gives but 79 names, unless we count Captain Ellis and Henry Halsey two, who is generally called Captain Elias Henry Halsey.

BELONGING TO GROTON.

Lieut.-Col. William Ledyard,	Mess. Luke Perkins,
Mess. Elijah Avery,	Luke Perkins, Jun.,
John Williams,	Elisha Perkins,
Simeon Allen,	Asa Perkins,
Samuel Allen,	Simeon Perkins,
Amos Stanton,	John Brown,
Hubbart Burrows,	John P. Babcock,
Nathan Moor,	Nathaniel Adams,
Youngs Ledyard,	Barney Kinne,
Joseph Lewis,	Samuel Hill,
Henry Williams,	Nathan Sholes,
Ebenezer Avery,	Joseph Moxley,
John Lester,	Thomas Starr, Jun.,
John Stedman,	Nicholas Starr,
Daniel Avery,	Moses Jones,
David Avery, Esq.,	Rufus Hurlbut,
Daniel Chester,	Belton Allen,
Solomon Avery,	Benadam Allen,
Jasper Avery,	Andrew Billings,
Elisha Avery,	Simeon Morgan,
Thomas Avery,	Patrick Ward,
David Palmer,	Christopher Avery,
Sylvester Walworth,	Jonas Lester,
Philip Covil,	Edward Mills,
Ezekiel Bailey,	Wait Lester,
Jeremiah Chester,	Thomas Miner,
David Seabury,	Andrew Baker,
Henry Woodbridge,	Solomon Tift,
Christopher Woodbridge,	Josiah Wigger.
Elnathan Perkins,	

BELONGING TO NEW LONDON.

Mess. Peter Richards,	Mess. Stephen Whittelsey,
James Comstock,	Eliaday Jones,
Richard Chapman,	Jonathan Butler,
John Holt,	Wm. Comstock, of
Samuel Billings,	Fort Trumbull,
John Clark,	Daniel Williams,
John Whittelsey,	William Bolton.

BELONGING TO STONINGTON.

Mess. Enoch Stanton,	Daniel Stanton.
Thomas Williams,	

BELONGING TO PRESTON. BELONGING TO LONG ISLAND.

Mr. John Billings.	Capt. Ellis,
	Henry Halsey.

NEGROES.

Lambo Latham,	Jordan Freeman.
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By the best information we can get there were 6 of the above killed and 20 wounded, previous to the enemy's gaining possession of the Fort.

The number of the enemy found buried in Groton amounts to 61.

From Connecticut Gazette of October 12th.

The following is a list of dwelling-houses, stores, &c., in New London which were set on fire by the enemy and consumed. The names of the owner or occupant are indiscriminately mentioned in this list.



Old mill built in 1650 on the Governor Winthrop estate, still in use, standing near Main Street, at the head of "Mill " or "Winthrop Cove," and now owned by Charles A. Lewis.

North end of the town, and Main Street.

	No. of Families
Picket Latimer's house and barn	1
Widow Plumbe's house and barn	2
Henry Latimer's (late) house	1
Late Deacon Green's house and shop	4
Christopher Prince's house	1
James Pitman's house	1
Daniel Byrne's house	1
Roswell Saltonstall's house and cooper's shop	1
Joseph Hurlbut's house and cooper's shop	1
Widow Rogers's house	1
Henry Deshon's house	1
Gen. Saltonstall's house, 2 stores, shop and barn	1

Burning of New London. 25

Store improved by Owen Neil for a house	1
Late Duncan Stewart's house	2
Heirs of Peter Harris, 1 store and one barn.	
Joseph Packwood's store.	
Roger Gibson's house	2
Samuel and Richard Latimer's house	2
Ichabod Powers's house	2
Peter Latimer's house and cooper's shop	4
Widow Shapley's house	1
Guy Richards & Son, 3 stores and slaughter house.	
John Hartell's work-shop.	

On Beach Street.¹

Widow Elliot's house and barn	2
Edward Hallam & Co., 3 stores and barn.	
David Mumford's store.	
Roswell Saltonstall's distill house, and store.	
do do opposite thereto 1 store and	
a cooper's shop improv'd as a house	1
Store improv'd by John Springer's family	1
Thomas Wilson's store.	
Shoe-maker's shop.	
Nathaniel Shaw's two stores.	
Joseph Packwood's store.	
John Deshon's house and two stores	1
Widow Skinner's house	1
Elijah Richards's house	1
Widow Potter's house	2
Barsheba Smith's house	2
Court house, church, jail, jail-house, watch-house	
and barber's shop	2

¹ When the enemy, passing down Main Street, came to Hallam Street, through which they entered Water Street, Arnold is said to have exclaimed, pointing with his sword in the direction of the street with its rich stores, "Soldiers, do your duty!"

On the Bank.¹

Samuel Belden's store.	
do do do on the wharf improv'd by a family	1
Widow Hancock's two houses	2
Shop improv'd by Thomas Gardiner.	
John Erving's house, one store and barn	1
Jonathan Douglass's house and cooper's shop	1
Daniel Deshon's house	3
Widow Leete's house	1
Charles Chadwick's house and empty store	1
John Champlin's shop.	
James Thomson's house and barn	2
Samuel Belden's house and barn	1
John M'Curdy's house, 2 stores, and barn	1
Widow M'Neil's house, and shop opposite	1
Richard Potter's house and store	1
Widow Bulkley's two houses	4
Widow Fosdick's house and barn	1
Jonathan Starr's work-shop.	
Jere. Miller's house, store, and barn	1
Joshua Starr's house and work-shop	2
do do do and barn	1
Titus Hurlbut's 2 houses, 2 shops, and barn	5
James Tilley's house, rope-walk, and barn	1
Doct. Wolcott's house and barn	1
Jacob Fink's house and slaughter house	1
John Way's house and cooper shop	1
Russel Hubbard's house, store, and barn	3
James Lamphear's house	2
Widow Short's house	4
Andrew Palmes's house	2

¹ Now known as Bank Street.

Burning of New London. 27

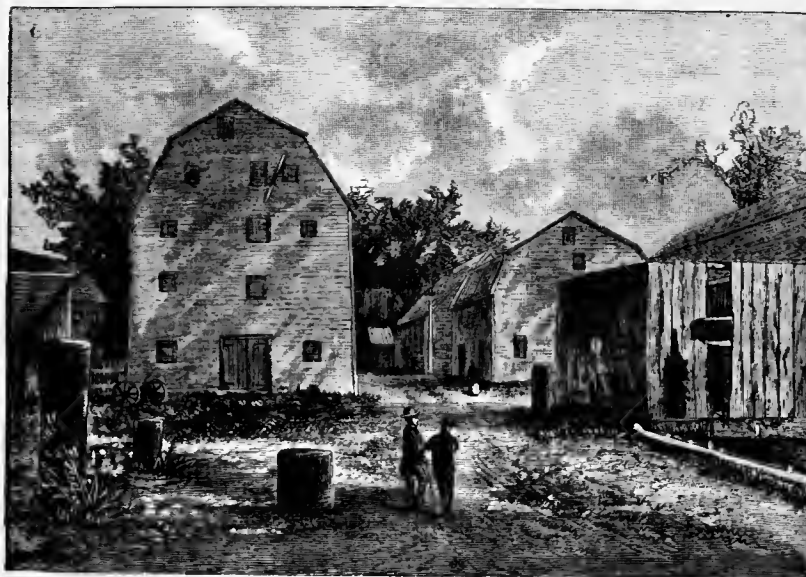
Nathan Douglas's house, tan-house, and barn . . .	1
Jere. Miller's house improved by W. Constant . . .	1
Joseph Coit's house and two barns	1
do do on the wharf, one house and two stores	1
Nath'l Shaw's house, shop, and two stores . . .	3

At the head of Long Bridge Cove.¹

Deshon & Christopher's house and tan-house . . .	1
A house on Hog Neck ²	1

Total, 65 houses containing 97 families, 31 stores, 18 shops, 20 barns, 9 public and other buildings, besides a variety of other small buildings of different kinds not here enumerated.

Total of buildings here enumerated 143



Old warehouses on Beach Street, or "The Beach," now Water Street. One of these escaped the fire, and the other was built to replace those burned, and is in the style of that time.

¹ Now Truman, Blinman, and Coit Streets.

² Howard Street.

There were burnt at Groton at the same time 1 school-house, 4 barns, 2 shops, 2 stores, and 12 dwelling-houses.

NAMES OF THE OWNERS OF HOUSES BURNED.

From a list in the papers of Colonel Benadam Gallup.

"HOUSES BURNT."

Elihu Avery,	Capt. More, ⁸
Benjamin Chester,	John Chester,
Elijah Avery,	Micha Jefford,
Esqr. Ledyard, ¹	Edward Jeffors,
Youngs Ledyard,	Doctor Prentis, ⁴
Jason Chester,	Esqr. Mumford, ⁵
Capt. Leeds, ²	Ensn. Eldridge. ⁶

¹ Ebenezer Ledyard.

² William Leeds.

⁸ Frederick Moore.

⁴ Amos Prentice.

⁵ Thomas Mumford.

⁶ Charles Eldridge, Jr.





RUFUS AVERY'S NARRATIVE.

From his Original Manuscript.¹

AS I belonged to the garrison at Fort Griswold when Benedict Arnold's army came to New London and Groton, on the sixth of September, 1781, and made their attack on both places, I had every opportunity to know all the movements through the day and time of the battle. I am requested to give a particular account of the conduct of the enemy. I had charge of the garrison the night before the enemy appeared anywhere near us, or were expected by any one at that time to trouble us. But about three o'clock in the morning, as soon as I had daylight so as to see the fleet, it appeared a short distance below the lighthouse. The fleet consisted of thirty-two vessels in

¹ A publication purporting to be this narrative has been twice printed: first, by one Rathbun, in 1840, who had the effrontery to put at the head of it, "In his own words," while in the story were many changes and additions (amounting to pages in his pamphlet), in places converting the simple English of Mr. Avery into bombastic nonsense; Mr. Harris, accepting the "In his own words" as a sufficient guarantee of genuineness, copied it entire in 1870.

I had the good fortune to have a friend remark that he "had read the original, and thought it had been fixed up some," but was not quite sure, as it was "some years ago." I at once got the original manuscript, by the kindness of its owner, and read it with the printed copy, and now, for the first time, is the original manuscript given in print. I have taken the liberty of using the present popular spelling, rather than the somewhat "phonetic" manner of the writer, perhaps to be made popular by 'spelling-reform advocates.' — A.

number, — ships, brigs, schooners, and sloops. I immediately sent word to Captain William Latham, who commanded the said fort, and who was not far distant. He very soon came to the fort, and saw the enemy's fleet, and immediately sent a notice to Col. William Ledyard, who was commander of the harbor, Fort Griswold, and Fort Trumbull. He soon arrived at the garrison, saw the fleet, then ordered two large guns to be loaded with heavy charges of good powder, &c. Captain William Latham took charge of one gun that was discharged at the northeast part of the fort, and I took charge of the gun on the west side of the fort, so as to give a "larum" to the country in the best manner that it could be done. We discharged then regular "larums." Two guns was the regular "larum," but the enemy understood that, and they discharged a third gun similar to ours and timed it alike, which broke our alarm, which discouraged our troops coming to our assistance. Col. William Ledyard immediately sent out two expresses, one from each fort, to call on every captain of a militia company of men to hurry them in to our relief. But not many came to our assistance. Their excuse was that they supposed it to be only a false alarm. The discharge of the third gun by the enemy entirely changed the alarm. It was customary, when there was a good prize brought into the harbor, or on the receipt of any good news, to rejoice by discharging three cannon, and this the enemy understood. They landed eight hundred officers and men and some horses and large guns and carriages on the beach at Eastern Point, Groton side of the river, about eight o'clock in the morning, and on New London side of the river below the light-house on the beach seven

hundred officers and men at the same time. The army on the Groton side was divided into two divisions, about four hundred in each division. Col. Aires¹ took command of the division southeast of the fort, about one hundred and thirty rods from the fort, behind a ledge of rocks. Major Montgomery took command of his division about one hundred and fifty rods from the fort, behind a high hill of land. The army on New London side of the river found better and more accommodating land for marching than on Groton side, and as soon as they got against Fort Trumbull they separated into two divisions: one went on to the town of New London, and plundered and set fire to the shipping and buildings, and the other division marched directly down to Fort Trumbull. Capt. Shapley, who commanded the fort, saw that he was likely to be overpowered by the enemy, spiked up the cannon, and embarked on board his boats, which were prepared for him and his men if wanted. But the enemy were so quick upon him that before he and his small company could get out of gunshot in their boats a number of his men got badly wounded. Those that were able to get to Fort Griswold reached there, and most of them were slain. Col. Aires and Major Montgomery had their divisions stationed about nine o'clock in the morning. As soon as they appeared in sight we hove a number of shot at them, but they would endeavor to disappear immediately. About ten o'clock in the forenoon they sent their flag to demand of Col. Ledyard the surrender of the fort. The party with the flag approached within about forty rods of the fort, and we discharged a musket ball before them, and brought them to a stand. Col. Ledyard called a

¹ Eyre.

council of war to take the minds of his fellow officers and friends as to what was to be done. They agreed to send a flag to meet theirs, and chose Capt. Elijah Avery, Capt. Amos Stanton,¹ and Capt. John Williams. They immediately met the British flag, and received a demand to give up the fort to them. Our flag soon returned with the summons, which was to surrender the fort to them. Inquiry was made of the council as to what must be done, and the answer was sent to the British flag that the fort would not be given up. Their flag went back to Col. Eyre's division, and soon returned to within about seventy rods of the fort, when they were again met by our flag, which brought back to Col. Ledyard the demand if they had to take the fort by storm they should put martial law in force; that is, whom they did not kill with balls should be put to death with sword and bayonet. Our flag went to the British flag with Col. Ledyard's answer that he should not give up the fort to them, let the consequence be what it might. While the flags were passing between us we were exchanging shots with the British at Fort Trumbull, of which they had got possession of said fort before the commencement of the battle at Fort Griswold. We could heave a shot into Fort Trumbull among the enemy without difficulty, but they could not raise a shot so high as to come into Fort Griswold. Having obtained possession of our good powder and shot left by Capt. Shapley in the fort, they used it against us.

¹ Captain Stanton, a man of almost gigantic stature and herculean strength, on seeing the slaughter continued after the surrender, is said to have seized a heavy musket by the muzzle, and exclaiming, "My God, must we die so!" sprang upon the platform on the west side of the fort, and nearly cleared it of the enemy before he was brought down by a musket shot. — H.

About eleven o'clock in the forenoon the enemy found out what we were determined to do. Both divisions started; that of Col. Eyre came on in solid column. As soon as he got on level ground we were prepared to salute them with a gun that took in an eighteen-pound ball, but was then loaded with two bags of grape shot. Capt. Elias Henry Halsey directed the gun, and took aim at the enemy. He had practiced on board of privateers, and he did his duty well. I was present with him and others near the gun, and when the shot struck among the enemy it cleared a wide space in their solid column. It was reported on good authority that about twenty men were killed and wounded by that charge of grape shot. As soon as the enemy's column was broken by their loss of officers and men, they scattered and trailed their arms, and came on with a quick march and oblique step toward the fort inclining to the west. During this time we hove cannon and musket shot among the enemy. Col. Eyre's division came up to the south side and west side of the fort, where he was mortally wounded. Major Montgomery, who started with his division at the same time that Eyre did to come to the fort in solid column, inclined to the north, until they got east of the redoubt or battery, which is east of the fort, when a large number of them came very quick into the battery. Our officers threw a heavy charge of grape shot among them, which destroyed a large number. They then started for the fort, a part of them in platoons, discharging their guns as they advanced, while some scattering officers and soldiers came round to the east and north part of the fort. As soon as the enemy got round the fort one man attempted to open the gate. He lost his life. There

was hard fighting some time before the second man made the trial to open the gate, which he did. Our little number of one hundred and fifty-five officers and soldiers, most of whom were volunteers when the battle began, were soon overpowered. Then there was no block-house on the parade, as there is now, and the enemy had every opportunity to kill and wound almost every man in the fort. When they had overpowered us and driven us from our stations at the breast-work of the fort, Col. Wm. Ledyard seeing what few officers and men he had left to do any more fighting, they quit their posts, and went on the open parade in the fort, where the enemy had every opportunity to massacre us, there was about six of the enemy to one of us. The enemy mounted the parapet seemingly all as one, swung their hats around once, and discharged their guns, and then they did not kill with ball they meant to kill with the bayonet. I was on the west side of the fort, with Capt. Edward Latham and Mr. Christopher Latham, on the platform; had a full sight of the enemy's conduct, and within five feet of these two men. I had at that time a ball and bayonet hole in my coat. As soon as the enemy discharged their guns they knocked down the two men before mentioned with the britch of their guns, and put their bayonets into them, but did not quite kill them. By this time Major Montgomery's division, then under the command of Capt. Bloomfield¹ (the other gates having been unbolted by one of the men), marched in through the gates, and formed a solid column. At this time I left my station on the west side of the fort, and went across the south part of the parade towards the south end of the barrack. Col. Wm. Ledyard was on

¹ Bromfield.

the parade, marching towards the enemy under Capt. Bloomfield, raising and lowering his sword. He was then about six or eight feet from the British officer. I turned my eyes from Ledyard and stepped up to the door of the barrack, and saw the enemy discharging their guns through the windows. I turned myself immediately about, and the enemy had executed Col. Ledyard, in less time than one minute after I saw him.¹

¹ Since this transaction there has ever existed in the public mind great uncertainty as to *who* was the murderer of Colonel Ledyard, the odium being divided between Major Bromfield, who succeeded Major Montgomery in command of the British troops on that occasion, and Captain Beckwith, of the 54th regiment. No person who actually witnessed the deed survived the battle,* or if any did they left no account of it behind them; and therefore the version of the manner of Ledyard's death commonly received as the correct one is but merely a conjecture, at the most. By this, the deed is ascribed to the officer who received Ledyard's surrender of the fort, supposed by the greater number to have been Major Bromfield; others at the time, and for a long time subsequent, laid the infamous transaction to the charge of Captain Beckwith, supposing him to have been the officer who met Ledyard and demanded the surrender.

Let us consider the matter a little, and see if we be able to reconcile the known facts and strong probabilities in the case, with this generally received opinion. Upon the entry of the British officer to the fort, and at his demand of who commanded it, Colonel Ledyard advanced to answer, "I did," etc., at the same time tendering him the hilt of his sword in token of submission. It is obvious that in this action Colonel Ledyard must have presented the front of his person to that officer. Now, had the latter, in taking the surrendered sword, instantly (as all accounts charge him with having done) plunged it into him, is it not also evident that it must have entered in front and passed out of the back of his person? The vest and shirt worn that day by Colonel Ledyard, preserved in the Wadsworth Athenæum at Hartford, upon examination reveal two rough, jagged openings, one on either side, a little before and in a line

* Mr. Harris is in error here, I believe, as I myself have heard this action described by three people whose fathers saw the murder, and often told of it to their children (see notes on Andrew Gallup and Caleb Avery). This being the case, most of the ground for Mr. Harris's argument is taken away. The argument, though ingenious, is not conclusive, since no one can by reasoning be certain what positions would be taken in moments of such excitement. The most natural positions are those which agree with the popularly received account, as men of military experience and education, I think, will agree. — A.

The column then continued marching toward the south end of the parade. I could do no better than to pass

with the lower edge of the arm-holes of the vest. The larger of these apertures is upon the left side ; the difference in size between it and that on the right corresponds with the taper of a sabre blade from hilt to point, showing conclusively that the weapon entered from the left and passed out at the right, and that the person by whom the wound was inflicted must have stood upon the left side of the wearer when the plunge was made. These holes are marked : that on the left as "where the sword entered," and that on the right as "where the sword came out," — so marked, doubtless, by the person who presented these memorials to the society, a near relative of Colonel Ledyard, and who considered them as the marks of the fatal wound. These are the only marks visible upon the garment. It is a reasonable supposition that when the British officer entered and thundered his demand he carried his drawn sword in his right hand ; for we can scarcely imagine an officer rushing unarmed into a place of such danger and demanding a surrender. Now, in case he did so carry his sword, he must necessarily either have sheathed, dropped, or changed it to his left hand, in order to receive Ledyard's with the right ; and this hardly seems possible. We must therefore suppose that he received it in his left hand ; and if so, does it not appear as most unreasonable that, having a sword in either hand, he would have used that in his left with which to make the thrust ? Yet he must have done so if it was by *his own sword* that Ledyard met his death. Neither does it appear possible that in the heat and excitement of the engagement, coolly calculating the chances, he would have passed around to the left of his victim for the purpose of making the wound more surely fatal, — the only reason for which we can suppose it to have been done.

We have seen from the position occupied by the parties that the wound, if inflicted instantly on the surrender of the sword, must have been given in front ; the marks in the vest conclusively prove it to have been given in the left side. We have seen the awkward position of the officer with his own sword in his right and Ledyard's in his left hand, — a situation almost precluding the idea of his making the stab with the latter. We have also seen that no person who witnessed it left any testimony regarding the affair, and that all that the commonly received version of it is based upon is really but the surmises of a people wrought almost to desperation by their losses and wrongs, who in the first moments of exasperation would naturally attribute an act of such enormity to the commander as the representative of the enemy. Now, after considering all these facts and probabilities, is it not a more rational conclusion that the wound was given by a by-standing officer — a subaltern or aid, perhaps — than that it was inflicted by the officer to whom Ledyard offered his sword ? It certainly so appears to us. But in case that, despite all these

across the parade before the enemy's column, as they discharged the volleys of three platoons, the fire of which I went through. I believe there was not less than five or six hundred men of the enemy on the parade in the fort. They killed and wounded nearly every man in the fort as quick as they could, which was done in about one minute. I expected my time to come with the rest. One mad-looking fellow put his bayonet to my side, and swore, "bejasus, he would skipper me." I looked him very earnestly in the face and eyes, and asked for mercy and to spare my life. He attempted three times to put the bayonet in me,

reasons for believing that officer innocent of the crime, he was really guilty, of the two to whom it has been charged, against but one is there any evidence to sustain the charge, and this is purely circumstantial. Captain Beckwith acted as aid to Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre on the day of the battle, and was the officer sent to demand the surrender of the fort. He, with Lord Dalrymple, was sent by Arnold as bearer of despatches to Sir Henry Clinton, and in all probability furnished the account of the battle for Rivington's *Gazette*, which appeared in that paper before the remainder of the expedition had reached New York. In this account, in which the details of the conference regarding the surrender are given with a minuteness with which only an eye-witness could give them, personal malice toward Colonel Ledyard is a salient feature, which the most unobservant reader cannot fail to notice. The writer appears to have considered the flag and the officers bearing it insulted in the conference; and in his references to the garrison, and to Colonel Ledyard in particular, he expresses himself in the most contemptuous and bitter terms.

If he was the officer to whom the surrender was made, it is possible that on beholding the man who he fancied had insulted him he allowed his rage to supplant his manhood, and, forgetting his military honor, plunged his sword into his vanquished enemy. From Miss Caulkins' *History of New London* we learn that he afterward passed through New York on his way to Barbadoes. While there he was charged by the newspapers of that city with the murder, which he indignantly denied. A correspondence was opened between him and a relative of Colonel Ledyard in reference to the question, when he produced documents which exculpated him. In view of this, however, as between him and Major Bromfield, circumstantial evidence is strongly in favor of the latter, who doubtless could have furnished as full documentary proof of his innocence, had he been called upon for it. — H.

but I must say I believe God forbade him, for I was completely in his power, as well as others that was present with the enemy. The enemy at the same time massacred Lieut. Enoch Stanton within four or five feet of me. A platoon of about ten men marched up near where I stood, where two large outer doors to the magazine made a space wide enough for ten men to stand in one rank. They discharged their guns into the magazine among the dead and wounded, and some well ones, and some they killed and wounded. That platoon fell back, and another platoon came forward to discharge their guns into the outer part of the magazine, where the others did. As they made ready to fire, Capt. Bloomfield came suddenly round the corner of the magazine, and very quickly raised his sword, exclaiming, "Stop firing! You'll send us all to hell together!" Their language was bad as well as their conduct. I was near him when he spoke. Bloomfield knew there must be, of course, much powder scattered about the magazine, and a great quantity deposited there, but I expect the reason it did not take fire was that there was so much human blood to put it out. They did not bayonet many after they ceased firing their guns. I was amongst them all the time, and they very soon left off killing, and then went stripping and robbing the dead and wounded, and also those that were not wounded. They then ordered each one of us to march out to the northeast part of the parade, and them that could not go themselves, from their wounds, were to be helped by those that were well. Mr. Samuel Edgecomb, Jr., and myself were ordered to take Ensign Charles Eldredge out of the magazine. He was a very large, heavy man, who had been shot in the knee-joint. We poor prisoners were taken out on the

parade, about two rods from the gates of the fort, and every man ordered to sit down immediately, and if not obeyed at once the bayonet was to be put into him. The battle was then finished, which was about one o'clock in the afternoon; the enemy began to take care of their dead and wounded. The first thing they did was to take off six of the outer doors of the barrack, and with four men to a door would bring in one man at a time on each door. There were twenty-four men at work about two hours as fast as they could walk and deposit them on the west side of the parade in the fort, where it was the most comfortable place they could find, while we poor prisoners were put in the most uncomfortable spot on the parade, in the fort, where the sun shone down so very warm on us that it made us feel more unhappy. Some of the wounded men lay dying. Captain Youngs Ledyard and Capt. Nathan Moore were among the number. I sat on the ground with the other prisoners, and these two fine men lay on the ground by me, Ledyard's head on one thigh, and Moore's head on the other. They both died that night. While I was with them they had their reason, and requested water for their thirst. I asked of the enemy water for my brother prisoners to drink, as well as for myself. They granted my request. The well was within two rods of us. I watched them when they brought the water to me for us to drink, to see that they did not put anything in it to poison us; for they had repeatedly said that we must all die before the sun went down, because that was in the summons sent to Col. Wm. Ledyard that those who were not killed by the musket-ball should die by the sword and bayonet. But happy for us that was alive they did not offer to hurt any one man, and they said that was a falsehood.

They kept us on the ground in the garrison about two hours after the battle was over, and then ordered every man who was able to walk to rise up immediately. Sentries with loaded guns and fixed bayonets were placed around us, with orders to shoot or bayonet any one that did not obey the officer. I was obliged to leave two dying men that were resting on me as they lay on the ground beside me. We marched down on the bank by the river so as to be ready to embark to go on board the British fleet. Then, about thirty of us, every man was ordered to sit down, and, as at other times, was surrounded with sentries. Capt. Bromfield came and took the names of the wounded that were able to march down with us. I sat where I had a fair view of the enemy's conduct. The sun was about half an hour high, and they were setting fire to the buildings, and bringing down plunder by us as we were placed at the lower part of the village. At the same time a large number of the enemy between us and the fort were getting ready to quit the ground. They loaded up our very large, heavy ammunition wagon that belonged to the fort with the wounded men who could not go themselves, and about twenty of the soldiers drew it out of the fort and brought it to the brow of the hill on which the fort stood, which was very steep, and about thirty rods distance. As soon as the enemy began to move the wagon down the hill, they began to put themselves in a position to hold it back with all their power. They found it too much for them to do; they released their hold on the wagon as quick as possible to prevent being run over by the wagon themselves, leaving it to run down the hill with great speed.¹ It ran about

¹ This description of their action seems to confirm the story of Andrew Gallup, in note 1, page 20.—A.

twelve rods to a large apple-tree stump, and both shafts of the wagon struck very hard, and hurt the wounded men very much. A great number of the enemy were near where the wagon stopped, and they immediately ran to the wagon, and brought that and the wounded men by where we prisoners were sitting on the ground, and deposited them in the house near by, that belonged to Ensign Ebenezer Avery, who was one that was in the wagon when it started down the hill. Some of the enemy had set fire to the house before the wounded prisoners were placed in it, but the fire was put out by some of the others. Capt. Bloomfield paroled the wounded men who were left, and took Ebenezer Ledyard, Esq., as a hostage for them left on parol, to see them forthcoming, if called for. By this time the enemy's boats came up to the shore near where we prisoners were. The officer spoke with a doleful sound: "Come, you rebels, go on board the boats." That touched my feelings more than anything that passed for the day. I realized that I should have to leave my dear wife and my good neighbors and friends, and also my native land, and suffer with cold and hunger, as I was in the power of a cruel foe or enemy; but I was still in the hands of a higher power, which was a great consolation to me, for I am sensible that God has preserved my life through many hardships, and when in danger of losing my life many times in the wars, etc. When we prisoners had marched down to the shore, the boats that were to receive us on board were kept off where the water was about knee-deep, and we were marched down in two ranks, one on each side of the boat. The officer that had the command very harshly ordered us to "get on board immediately." There were about twelve prisoners in

a boat. They rowed us down to an armed sloop, commanded by one Captain Thomas, as they called him, a refugee tory, who lay with his vessel within the fleet. As soon as they put us on board the sloop they shut us down in the hold of the vessel, where they had a fire for cooking, which made it very hot and smoky. They stopped up the hatchway, making it so close that we had no air to breathe. We begged that they would spare our lives, and they gave us some relief by opening the hatchway, and letting one or two of us come on deck at a time during the night, but with sentries with guns and bayonets to watch us. They did not give us anything to eat or drink for about twenty-four hours, and then only a mess made of hogs' brains that they caught on Groton bank, with other plunder. While we were on board Thomas's sloop we had nothing to eat or drink that we could hardly swallow. This continued about three days. There were a number of weapons of war where we were placed in the vessel, and some of the prisoners whispered together that there was an opportunity to make a prize of the sloop. This somehow got to the officers' ears, and they immediately shut us all down in the hold of the vessel. I felt very certain that we would have to suffer, for they seemed so enraged that they appeared to have an intention to massacre us all. They soon got ready, and began to call us up on deck one by one. As I came up they tied my hands behind me with strong rope yarns, binding them together, and winding the rope yarn so hard as to nearly bring my shoulder blades to touch each other. Then they had a boat come from a fourteen-gun brig commanded by a Captain Steel, by name and nature. I was ordered to get over the side of the sloop without the use of my

hands, the bulwarks above the deck being all of three feet in height, and then I had to fall into the boat that was to carry us to the brig, and was made to lay down under the seats on which the rowers sat, as though we were brutes about to be slaughtered. After we were put on board the brig, we were ordered to stand in one rank beside the gunwale of the vessel, and a spar was placed before us leaving about one foot space for each man to stand in, with a sentry to nearly every man, with orders to bayonet or shoot any one that offered to move. They kept us in that situation about two hours in the rain and cold with very thin clothing upon us, and then gave us liberty to go about the main deck, and were obliged to lie on the wet deck without anything to eat or drink for supper. We were on board the brig about four days, and then put on board a ship commanded by Capt. Scott, who appeared very friendly to we prisoners. He took me on the quarter deck with him. He was apparently about sixty years of age, and I remained with him until I was exchanged. Captain Nathaniel Shaw came down to New York with the American flag after me, and four young men that were made prisoners with me that belonged to the garrison at Fort Griswold, and during the time of the battle behaved like good soldiers. General Mifflin came with the British flag to meet the American flag. I sailed with him about twenty miles in the flag-boat. He asked me some questions, but I gave him little or no information, and told him I was very sorry that they came to destroy so many good men, and cause so much distress to families and desolation in the community, by burning so much valuable property, and further, that I did not believe that they would gain any honor by it. He replied, we might thank our own country-

men for it. I told him that *I* should not. I then turned to the General and said, will you answer me a few questions? "As many as you please, Sir," was his reply. I made many inquiries, and asked him how many of the enemy was missing that were engaged in the attack on Groton and New London, remarking, "Sir, I expect you can tell as you are the Commissary of the British Army." He said, "I find in the returns that there were two hundred and twenty odd missing, but I dont know what became of them." Here I conclude the foregoing particular account from my own personal knowledge of the British attack and capture of Fort Griswold, and their brutal conduct at New London and Groton, and also of their barbarous treatment of the prisoners who fell into their hands.

ATTEST :

RUFUS AVERY,

*Orderly Sergeant, under Captain William Latham, who
commanded the Matross Company at Fort Griswold,
Sept. 6, 1781.*



I asked him how many the army ~~was~~ was missing that made
these attack on Grooten and New London, Sir J. Enghelst ~~was~~
you can tell as you are the Comafermy of the british army
I find in the returns there is two hundreds and twenty, odd.
Missing but I don't know what has come of these, I now conclude
saying the above and foregoing and Pentickalen account and Per:
Sandwell Edge of the british Conduet at New London, and Grooten
and also with the Pruisians after they fell into there hands &c

{ attest - Rufus Avery who was orderly Sergeant
under Capt William Latham who
Commanded the Mettross Company
at Fort Guifwolda at Grooten
Septem ~~1780~~ 1781 —



NARRATIVE
OF
STEPHEN HEMPSTEAD.¹

ON the morning of the 6th of September, 1781, twenty-four sail of the enemy's shipping appeared to the westward of New London harbor. The enemy landed in two divisions, of about 800 men each, commanded by that infamous traitor to his country, Benedict Arnold, who headed the division that landed on the New London side, near Brown's farms; the other division, commanded by Colonel Ayres, landed on Groton Point, nearly opposite. I was first sergeant of Captain Adam Shapley's company of state troops, and was stationed with him at the time, with about twenty-three men, at Fort Trumbull, on the New London side. This was a mere breast-work or water battery,

¹ This narrative was communicated to the *Missouri Republican* in 1826, accompanied by the following note of which I have seen but one printed copy. — A.

"Mr. Charles I have thought since last fall that I would send you an account of the battle of Fort Griswold on Groton Heights on the 6th of September 1781. The celebration of that event in September last caused several notices of it to appear in different newspapers none of which I think are sufficiently particular or wholly correct. As I was a participant in that catastrophe and had an opportunity of knowing most of the circumstances, and reasons for remembering them, besides some notes taken subsequently, I am enabled I think to give a clearer account of it (particularly in detail) than any I have seen, and if you believe the following worthy of publication, you are at liberty to do so.

"STEPHEN HEMPSTEAD."

open from behind, and the enemy coming on us from that quarter, we spiked our cannon, and commenced a retreat across the river to Fort Griswold in three boats. The enemy was so near that they over-shot us with their muskets, and succeeded in capturing one boat with six men commanded by Josiah Smith, a private. They afterwards proceeded to New London and burnt the town. We were received by the garrison with enthusiasm, being considered experienced artillerymen, whom they much needed, and we were immediately assigned to our stations. The fort was an oblong square, with bastions at opposite angles, its longest side fronting the river in a northwest and southeast direction. Its walls were of stone, and were ten or twelve feet high on the lower side, and surrounded by a ditch. On the wall were pickets, projecting over twelve feet; above this was a parapet with embrasures, and within a platform for the cannon, and a step to mount upon to shoot over the parapet with small arms. In the southwest bastion was a flag-staff, and in the side, near the opposite angle, was the gate, in front of which was a triangular breast-work to protect the gate; and to the right of this was a redoubt, with a three-pounder in it, which was about 120 yards from the gate. Between the fort and the river was another battery, with a covered way, but which could not be used in this attack, as the enemy appeared in a different quarter. The garrison, with the volunteers, consisted of about 160 men. Soon after our arrival the enemy appeared in force in some woods about half a mile southeast of the fort, from whence they sent a flag of truce, which was met by Captain Shapley, demanding an unconditional surrender, threatening at the same time, to storm the fort instantly if the terms were not

accepted.¹ A council of war was held, and it was the unanimous voice, that the garrison were unable to defend themselves against so superior a force. But a militia colonel who was then in the fort, and had a body of men in the immediate vicinity, said he would reinforce them with 2 or 300 men in fifteen minutes, if they would hold out. Colonel Ledyard agreed to send back a defiance, upon the most solemn assurance of immediate succor. For this purpose Colonel —— started, his men being then in sight; but he was no more seen, nor did he even attempt a diversion in our favor. When the answer to their demand had been returned by Captain Shapley, the enemy were soon in motion, and marched with great rapidity, in a solid column, to within a short distance of the fort, where, dividing the column, they rushed furiously and simultaneously to the assault of the southwest bastion and the opposite sides. They were, however, repulsed with great slaughter, their commander mortally wounded, and Major Montgomery, next in rank, killed, having been thrust through the body, whilst in the act of scaling the walls at the southwest bastion, by Captain Shapley. The command then devolved on Colonel Beckwith, a refugee from New Jersey, who commanded a corps of that description. The enemy rallied and returned the attack with great vigor, but were received and repulsed with equal firmness. During the attack a shot cut the halyards of the flag, and it fell to the ground, but was instantly remounted on a pike-pole.²

¹ Lieutenant-colonel Eyre formed his men behind the ledge of rocks which forms the eastern boundary of the burial-ground. Major Montgomery's column formed in the rear of a hillock, a short distance north-east of that point.

² Luke Perkins is said, without contradiction as far as I can learn, to have been the one who performed the action here described.—A.

This accident proved fatal to us, as the enemy supposed it had been struck by its defenders, rallied again, and rushing with redoubled impetuosity, carried the southwest bastion by storm. Until this moment our loss was trifling in number, being six or seven killed, and eighteen or twenty wounded. Never was a post more bravely defended, nor a garrison more barbarously butchered. We fought with all kinds of weapons, and at all places, with a courage that deserved a better fate.¹ Many of the enemy were killed under the walls by throwing simple shot over on them,² and never

¹ John Daboll, one of the garrison, discharged his musket no less than seven times at one particular soldier, who also seems to have singled him out as his opponent. The singular duel was terminated by the eighth shot from the enemy carrying away the lock of Daboll's musket, and severely wounding him in the head. This incident was related to the writer by an old gentleman now living in Groton, who had frequently heard the story from Daboll. — H.

Thomas, son of Lieutenant Parke Avery, aged seventeen, was killed fighting by the side of his father. Just before he fell (the battle growing hot) the father turned and said, "Tom, my son, do your duty!" "Never fear, father," was the reply, and the next moment he was stretched upon the ground. "'Tis a good cause," said the father, and he remained firm at his post. — *Caulkins*.

Lieut. Avery had another son near three years old at this time named in honor of his fellow-townsmen, one of the Continental agents in France, — Silas Deane Avery. After the battle, in honor of the young hero, Silas Deane was changed for Thomas, a name more strongly demanding of him affection and reverence than that of diplomatic agent or statesman, however eminent, who had not with his blood sealed his belief in resistance to George III. — A.

² Samuel Edgcomb, Jr., of a family justly celebrated for the great size and strength of its members, hurled 18-pound shot, one with each hand, upon the assailants with fearful effect, as they, after breaking through the fraizing attempted to scale the ramparts. After the enemy gained the fort on the other side, and the massacre became general, further resistance being useless, he dropped on the ground among the wounded and dead, escaping with a wound in the right hand. He was afterwards ordered to assist in the removal of the wounded, as his son, Daniel D. Edgcomb, now of Mystic River, remembers his statement that he carried off upon his back

would we have relinquished our arms, had we had the least idea that such a catastrophe would have followed. To describe this scene I must be permitted to go back a little in my narrative. I commanded an eighteen-pounder on the south side of the gate, and while in the act of righting my gun, a ball passed through the embrasure, struck me a little above the right ear, grazing the skull, and cutting off the veins, which bled profusely. A handkerchief was tied around it, and I continued at my duty. Discovering, some little time after, that a British soldier had broken a picket at the bastion on my left, and was forcing himself through the hole, whilst the men stationed there were gazing at the battle which raged opposite to them, cried, "my brave fellows, the enemy are breaking in behind you," and raised my pike to dispatch the intruder, when a ball struck my left arm at the elbow, and my pike fell to the ground. Nevertheless, I grasped it with my right hand, and with the men, who turned and fought manfully, cleared the breach. The enemy, however, soon after forced the southwest bastion, where Captain Shapley, Captain Peter Richards, Lieutenant Richard Chapman, and several other men of distinction, and volunteers, had fought with unconquerable courage, and were all either killed or mortally wounded, and which had sustained the brunt of every attack.

Captain P. Richards, Lieutenant Chapman, and several others, were killed in the bastion; Captain Shap-

Daniel Eldridge, who was wounded in the knee. Samuel E. was ploughing for rye at the time of the alarm and left for the fort at once, not stopping to loose his oxen. He was 21 years of age, and died at the age of 83 years, at the old homestead on the west slope of Fort Hill, in the same house in which he was born. His brother Gilbert was carried away prisoner. — A.

ley and others wounded. He died of his wounds in January¹ following.

Colonel Ledyard, seeing the enemy within the fort, gave orders to cease firing, and to throw down our arms, as the fort had surrendered. We did so, but they continued firing upon us, crossed the fort and opened the gate, when they marched in, firing in platoons upon those who were retreating to the magazine and barrack-rooms for safety. At this moment the renegade Colonel Beckwith commanding, cried out, "Who commands this garrison?" Colonel Ledyard, who was standing near me, answered, "I did sir, but you do now," at the same time stepping forward, handed him his sword with the point towards himself. At this instant I perceived a soldier in the act of bayoneting me from behind. I turned suddenly round and grasped his bayonet, endeavoring to unship it, and knock off the thrust, but in vain. Having but one hand, he succeeded in forcing it into my right hip, above the joint, and just below the abdomen, and crushed me to the ground. The first person I saw afterwards was my brave commander, a corpse by my side, having been run through the body with his own sword, by the savage renegade.² Never was a scene of more brutal wanton carnage witnessed than now took place. The enemy were still firing upon us in platoons, and in the barrack-rooms, which were continued for some minutes, when they discovered they were in danger of being blown up, by communicating fire to the powder

¹ Shapley's death occurred February 14th, as per his tombstone. — A.

² The chivalrous Ledyard seems to have felt a premonition of impending calamity from the beginning. On stepping into the boat to cross from New London on that morning, he remarked to friends gathered about him, "If this day I lose my honor or my life, which it will be, you who know me, can tell already."

scattered at the mouth of the magazine while delivering out cartridges ; nor did it then cease in the rooms for some minutes longer. All this time the bayonet was "freely used," even on those who were helplessly wounded and in the agonies of death. I recollect Captain William Seymour,¹ a volunteer from Hartford, had thirteen bayonet wounds, although his knee had previously been shattered by a ball, so much so, that it was obliged to be amputated the next day. But I need not mention particular cases. I have already said that we had six killed and eighteen wounded previous to their storming our lines ; eighty-five were killed in all, thirty-five mortally and dangerously wounded, and forty taken prisoners to New York, most of them slightly hurt.

After the massacre they plundered us of everything we had, and left us literally naked. When they commenced gathering us up, together with their own wounded, they put theirs under the shade of the platform, and exposed us to the sun, in front of the barracks, where we remained over an hour. Those that could stand were then paraded, and ordered to the landing, while those that could not (of which number I was one) were put in one of our ammunition wagons, and taken to the brow of the hill (which was very steep, and at least one hundred rods in descent), from whence it was permitted to run down by itself, but was arrested in its course, near the river, by an apple-tree. The pain and anguish we all endured in this rapid descent, as the wagon jumped and jostled over rocks and holes, is inconceivable ; and the jar in its arrest was like bursting the cords of life asunder, and caused us to shriek with

¹ Nephew of Colonel Ledyard.

almost supernatural force. Our cries were distinctly heard and noticed on the opposite side of the river (which is a mile wide¹), amidst all the confusion which raged in burning and sacking the town. We remained in the wagon more than an hour before our humane conquerors hunted us up, when we were again paraded and laid on the beach, preparatory to embarkation; but, by the interposition of Ebenezer Ledyard, brother to Colonel Ledyard, who humanely represented our deplorable situation and the impossibility of our being able to reach New York, thirty-five of us were paroled in the usual form. Being near the house of Ebenezer Avery, who was also one of our number, we were taken into it. Here we had not long remained before a marauding party set fire to every room, evidently intending to burn us up with the house. The party soon left it, when it was with difficulty extinguished, and we were thus saved from the flames.² Ebenezer Ledyard again interfered, and obtained a sentinel to remain and guard us until the last of the enemy embarked, — about 11 o'clock at night. None of our own people came to us till near daylight the next morning, not knowing previous to that time that the enemy had departed.

Such a night of distress and anguish was scarcely ever passed by mortal. Thirty-five of us were lying on the bare floor, stiff, mangled, and wounded in every manner, exhausted with pain, fatigue, and loss of blood, without clothes or anything to cover us,

¹ He gives here the popular estimate of the width of the river, current even now. It was measured on the ice in January, 1821, and, from the present ferry wharf to the opposite shore, it was found to be 144 rods, or 16 rods less than half a mile. — A.

² This house is on the right side of the main street, south of the ferry; it is now occupied by Simon Huntington, Esq.

trembling with cold and spasms of extreme anguish without fire or light, parched with excruciating thirst, not a wound dressed, nor a soul to administer to one of our wants, nor an assisting hand to turn us during these long, tedious hours of the night. Nothing but groans and unavailing sighs were heard, and two of our number did not live to see the light of the morning, which brought with it some ministering angels to our relief. The first was in the person of Miss Fanny Ledyard, of Southold, L. I.,¹ then on a visit to her uncle, our murdered commander, who held to my lips a cup of warm chocolate, and soon after returned with wine and other refreshments, which revived us a little. For these kindnesses she has never ceased to receive my most grateful thanks, and fervent prayers for her felicity.

The cruelty of our enemy cannot be conceived, and our renegade countrymen surpassed in this respect, if possible, our British foes. We were at least an hour after the battle within a few steps of a pump in the garrison, well supplied with water, and, although we were suffering with thirst, they would not permit us to take one drop of it, nor give us any themselves. Some of our number, who were not disabled from going to the pump, were repulsed with the bayonet; and not one drop did I taste after the action commenced, although begging for it after I was wounded of all who came near me, until relieved by Miss Ledyard. We were a horrible sight at this time. Our own friends did not know us. Even my own wife came in the room in search of me, and did not recognize me, and

¹ I think there can be no doubt this was a sister of John Ledyard, the traveler, who was a nephew of Colonel Ledyard, and whose mother and sister lived on Long Island at the time. — A.

as I did not see her, she left the room to seek for me among the slain, who had been collected under a large elm-tree near the house. It was with the utmost difficulty that many of them could be identified, and we were frequently called upon to assist their friends in distinguishing them, by remembering particular wounds, &c. Being myself taken out by two men for this purpose, I met my wife and brother, who, after my wounds were dressed by Dr. Downer, from Preston, took me — not to my own home, for that was in ashes, as also every article of my property, furniture, and clothing — but to my brother's, where I lay eleven months as helpless as a child, and to this day feel the effects of it severely.

Such was the battle of Groton Heights ; and such, as far as my imperfect manner and language can describe, a part of the sufferings which we endured. Never, for a moment, have I regretted the share I had in it. I would, for an equal degree of honor, and the prosperity which has resulted to my country from the Revolution, be willing, if possible, to suffer it again.

STEPHEN HEMPSTEAD.





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STEPHEN HEMPSTEAD, Æ. 76.

A soldier of the Connecticut or Continental Line, from May, 1775, till 1782. In the battle of Bunker Hill; a sergeant under Capt. Nathan Hale; left for dead at Harlem Plains; and wounded in defence of Fort Griswold, September 6, 1781. He died in 1831, aged 77.

Engraved from a miniature painted in St. Louis, Mo., 1830.



BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH
OF
STEPHEN HEMPSTEAD.

STEPHEN HEMPSTEAD, son of Stephen and Sarah Hempstead, lineal descendant of Robert Hempstead, one of the chief settlers of the town, was born in New London, Conn. May 6, 1754. In the summer of 1775 he was lieutenant of a guard of 15 or 20 men under Capt. Nathaniel Saltonstall, which in the first movement to screen the country from invasion, manned the old fort in New London on the parade near the water's edge.

On the spilling of the first American blood at Lexington 19th April, 1775, he volunteered (May 6th) as a private soldier into the service of his country. He went from New London to Boston, served a term of seven months and was present at the affairs of Cambridge, Bunker's (Breed's) Hill, and Roxbury, and had the pleasure to see the British evacuate Boston. Upon the expiration of his first term (December 10th), he entered the service for a second term, as a sergeant in Capt. Nathan Hale's company and marched to New York.

Hale's company was part of Col. Webb's regiment Continental troops.

The British now occupied Long Island and New York city, and the Americans lay on Haerlem Heights.

General Washington, anxious to know the strength and position of the enemy, engaged Capt. Hale to examine it. Hempstead accompanied him to the point of his departure from the Connecticut shore, took charge of his uniform and valuables that it was not safe to take on a tour through the British camp. As Hale lost his life on this expedition, and his enemies buried him like a dog, Hempstead was the last companion in arms, perhaps the last friend, who saw him.

Mr. Hempstead followed General Washington in the noble retreat from Long Island September, 1776. He, under Thos. Updike Fosdick, with sixteen men, mostly New London boys, volunteered to go in one of the fireships directed by the General to burn the Asia, a man-of-war of 84 guns, then in the Hudson River above New York. Was grappled to her for twenty minutes, and exposed to the fire of the cannon and small arms of the Asia and a frigate, without having a man killed; and though unsuccessful, the expedition was so satisfactory to General Washington that he thanked them in General Orders and directed \$40 to be paid to each man. October 27th, Mr. H. was on Haerlem Heights and had two ribs broken by the grape-shot from a British field piece. He was left for dead, and did not recover from his wound till the expiration of his term of service in 1777. The next year he entered into the State service of Connecticut, and on the capture of Fort Trumbull September 6, 1781, he crossed under fire to Fort Griswold on the other side of the river Thames at New London. Here he was again severely wounded. The capture of the fort exposed the town of New London. It was sacked and burnt by the "Traitor Arnold." Mr. Hempstead's family lived there and shared the fate of the place. Their

house and property was destroyed, and his wife, *née* Mary Lewis, with some young children,¹ and afflicted with the small-pox, fled six miles through the country. Mr. Hempstead did not again enter the army. Soon after, the capture of Cornwallis put an end to hostilities. It was twelve months before he recovered of his wounds. He moved to St. Louis in 1811, where he died in 1831.

¹ One of these "young children" was Edward Hempstead, born 1780, afterward first member of Congress from all the country west of the Mississippi River, from whose memoir written 1818 by his friend Col. Thomas H. Benton, author of *Thirty Years in United States Senate*, I have taken much of the above account of Hempstead, Sr. — A.





NARRATIVE

OF

JOHN HEMPSTED.¹

I NOW Setdown to give a narrative of My proseding on the 6th Day of Sept., 1781. All tho itt is forty-eight years Sense the town of New London was Sack'd and Burnt By the British Solders under the command of that infamos trater Benedick Arnel, itt is formillyer as iff it was transacted yesterday. In the morning of the sd day I was att my house in bed, between Brake of Day and Sunrise. I hard the Signel of an-larm ² by the firing of thre Cannon, althow Our Signol was two cannon near to gether; they fir'd 3 to Deceve; however I turn'd Out and ask'd my wife to git Brakefast as soon as possabel for I must go off. I went Down on the hill about half mild Distant, now caled prospect hill, Where the fleet was in fare Site in a line acrost the haber. There was 15 Sale of Ships an other Square rig'd Vessels, besides other Vesels. I came

¹ That Mr. Hempsted was a laborious writer whose thoughts outran his pen is evident from the interlineations and omissions of words in the manuscript; that he was a careless speller is seen in the fact that "fort" is spelled correctly at first and afterward in four ways. Manwaring is right and wrong almost in the same line, while the free use of capitals, strange as it may seem to us now, is in accordance with the habit of the time in which he was educated. — A.

² I find in orders and other manuscripts of the time this word either an-larm or a-larum.—A.

home. My brakefast was redy. After Brakefast I Said to my Son John to take the team & go intown and Bring out his granmother Bill. My hors Being redy I Slung my Musket & Cartrig Box and mounted with my littel Black Boy to bring the hors Back. Ex-
peting to find people att the alarum post at Manwarings hill. After I got Under Way my wife Called to me prety loud. I Stopt my hors and ask'd her What She wanted. Her answer was Not to let me hear that you are Shot in the Back.

I proseded to the alarum post and found nobody thare. I rode down into the Strete, where my father formerly liv'd, and gave up my hors to my black Boy, and Started on a foot, which was on my way to my Lit Collon harris, but was overtaken by Capt. John Deshon and Capt. Mickel Malley. They asked mee to gitt up Behind One of thim & I Did, but I hav forgot which. We Sune got to Col. Haris, & I Saw him Standing on his Dore Stone. I Slipt of the hors & met the Colo half the way from his house to the highway with a Short willow Stick in his hand. My reply to him was what is the news Colo? he replid the Enemy are landing att Brown's farm. What is the order? his answer, go Down & make the best Defence you Can with what men you Can gitt. I hope you will go with me. his answer, I have Ben Sencherd for not giving timely notis. You had Beter go with mee & So wee parted. I went Down to Brown's farm. I got there Sometime Before they landed & there was But About forty men arm'd. Wee watted while the enemy was maning there botes. After they ware all mand they Opend there brode Sides upon Both Shores, and all landed under ther Cannon whos balls flew over Our heads like hale Stones untill they ware all landed. itt

was verry Still. there was One man Drest in Red Stud up in the Starn of One of the botes, with his Sword Drawn & Brandishing itt Over his head, & Said Pull a way, God Dam you, Pull away, which I thaught wass arnald. the men Sune landed and form'd a line from Lester' gut to the White Beach & the Enemy advanced with a Slow march untill they got upon high Ground, & then they went quick from one wall to another, and wee Retreted Exchangen Shot every Opertunty. We Continued untill wee Brought them within Cannon Shot of the foart On town hill, Vulgarly Called fort Nonsense. When the forte opened upon the Enemy the Shot fell Short, & wee ware between two fires. Capt. Wm. Coit Spoke to me as he had no Commanding ofesser, for God Sake Send or go to the fort to Stop the fireing. I told him to go him Self. he Repld that he had no Command. I told him then go in my name, & he Went, & the firing Seased. We Retreted, and Sune got near the fort att the house of Wm. Hempsted. he Caled to mee and Asked me iff I wolde take Sum jinn. I told him yes & thanky two. I went to his dore next the Street, & he had a Case of holland Jinn, which was well Excepted. Wm. was harnest redy to march as itt hapen'd-Capt. Willam Coit, & Capt. Richard Deshon, Capt. Jonathan Calkins, & Capt. Nathll Salstanstell, which I Hed not Sean before that day. We all Drank & Desperst, Wm. Hempsted and all. I spoke to Sd Hempsted if he was going to leave his Case of jin there; he Said itt was no matter whare it was, the Dogs will find itt. Come take hold of One handil, and wee Carred itt west of his house, about Six rod, to a pease of patoes with high weads, & wee bent the weades over them & they never fownd the case of jinn. And then wee

Despers'd. While wee ware there I prescv'd that the Enemy fil'd of from the left, as thoe there Intention was to Soround the fort. by this time there wass more peopel got there, & I spoke to them. Who will goe along with mee? Mr. George Smith sd I will go. With that two more Said I will go with you, & wee went to the northwest over the hill, and we posted Our Selves In a Very advatagos place. We Soon Saw thee enemy Comming; wee Saw ther bāgnert above the corn advancing in a Ingan file. We before the Enemy made any Stand we a gread to Reserve our fire. they Said One and all lit Us fire. I told them I would reserve my fire and wate for Orders. Very Will, the Enemy by this time had got up to a Stone wall about Six rods in Our frunt. this Wall was on Our lefhand. When they ware 12 or 15 in number I gave the word fire. it was no Suner Sad then Dun. the Enemy return'd the fire, but the men went to the foart as I supos'd. By this time perhaps 25 men had Got in a huddel. I arose took Good ame. I Sea that they ware Confused. I took a cartrig out of my Box. But they Sune return'd the fire. But Before I could Load my pease two men with grene Cotes and long fethers gumt over the wall with ther peases upon Recover. I Remembr what I thought. I can git as fur from the Wall as they ware. I run towarde the fort. that was about 30 Rod Distant. I had got but about Six Rod from the wall. I look'd Over my Sholder when their Guns flasht, but hapy for mee one of thir balls Struck a potato hill, clos by my feet, and the other whistled by my hed. I Rember what I thaught that they ware not Very gobd marks men.

I Repar'd to the fort and found nobody there. I

found a quille¹ of Riging on the prade. I Rold itt under the platform & went Out of the Gates, & turned to the right into the Intrenchment, & as I was in the intrenchment the Enemy fired upon Mee & ther Shot scoward the Dich On both Sides of Mee. I got Round the corner & was Sum putoit² to get up the dich. however I got up & over in Esq. millers Orchard, which was Very thick and ful of leaves. By this time the Enemy got into the fort & husard, and they were answerd By a man, "Wilkom God damyou to fort Non Sence." I look and Saw the man behind a tree. I got behind another & they gave Us a Shot in the orchard, but to no purpus. I mad the beste of my way towards town. I got near David holtes, Now John Coites, I heard Cannon On Manorng hill. I made my way to the sd hill cross lots there. I found 2 feald peases, & Near a hundred men Olmost unarm'd. there I found Capt. Richard Deshon & Wm. Ashcraft, which Stuck By the Stuff, when as the Enemy advanced they all left us, But wee gave them two Shot. as the Enemy apeard in Sight the peaple all fled but Capt. Deshon & Wm. Ashcraft. I told Capt. Deshon we would not be kild with Our One wepens. I Sholderd a Sack of Cartridg's & Deshon the Ramer & Spunge Ladel, and put them under the Brig By Chapman house, & I put the Cartridges In Robart Manworings lott and Bent the tops of weds over them. I niver Saw Deshon after that for the day. After I hid the Cartrgs I went down the hill. I intended to git Behind Rich'd Chapmans Barn. I Rec'd a Volly of Shot I Judg'd about 20. the Shot Cut thrugh the grass on Both Sid of me. — I must Riturn back to

¹ Coil of rigging.

² Put to it.

manworing hill. before Wee left the hill I Spok to Wm. ashcraft to go to Chapmans house & get Sun-thing to Spike up the Guns, & I Spoke Sunthing Starn to him, & he Stopt & said there will bee nobody har when I Com Back. yes I will be hear. hee went. my speaking Loud Sumbody Cald to me and Said, what Do you want, & I look'd & itt wass Coln Haris, whith I never see Sense morning with the same Stick. harris went into the house & brought Out the Shank of a Spike Gimblet, which answered no purpos. I riturn'd Behind Chapmans Barn. I went from the Barn toward the highway to a pare of Bars, & as I was Giting over the Bars, a musket Bal stuck into the lim of a apel tree that Brancht over the bars about two feet from my head. then I made my way for home for this Reason. my father Died Lately, & his estate not Setled,¹ I had all his Books & papers att my house. But I Could not Git hom no other way but to go round mr. Winthrops house, By being Sorround by the enemy. I had not got more than half the way to where magor Richards after liv'd I Saw the Enemy on the top of mr. Winthrups house. I maid my way to qaker hill, & there I found I Should say 5 hunderd men, sum arm'd & sum no armes. while I was there majer Darrow Come Riding Down, & Said to the men

¹ In the Gazette of September 7th, the day following the battle, is the following notice :

"All persons that are indebted to the estate of JOHN HEMPSTED, Esq., late of *New London*, decesd, by book or note, are once more called upon in the most pressing manner to settle the same, or they must not take it amiss if after this notice they should be called upon in a more disagreeable manner, which they may spedily expect (without respect of persons) should they neglect a compliance with this request.

"JOHN HEMPSTED, *Executor*.

"New London, Sept. 4th, 1781."

why the Devel dont yoo Go down & meet the Enemy? Picket Latimer sd as he was there that he would not Resk his life to Save other mens property, tho he was the Capt. of the Endependt Cumpany att that time. (Latimer was Burnt first.) I then mad the best of my Way hom & packt up my fathers papers & books & Carid them into the Swamp taking my Sun John & young James Smith With mee that they might find them if I didnot Come Back. I Eat my Dinner & Sett out agane to follow the Enemy, but passing Daniel Latimers, whare I supose thare was a hundred men, I past them and had gott 20 or 30 Rods By, Colo. Latimer Cauld to me to Cum back. I Repl'd I could not, I was In persute of the enemy. his Reply to me was, I Command You to com back. then I Stopt & Went back. he Detaned mee abot one½ anower, & Sent with me 2 other men, but whilst I was thare Capt. John mcCarty & David Robart Came Riding up to the Doare and Said Whare is that Dam'd tory, & they Rusht in to the house, & I Clost to there heels, they saing whare is that Damid Tory. they was stopt with the point of the baganet, by a Solder that stud as a gard Over Thos. Fitch, whih ware taken near Black point with a Drove of Sheep to Send to the Enemy. I Return. On my progres from Latimers I Shapt my Cours a cross lots. in Crossing Samuel Garners lot about forty or fifty Rod West of Robart Manworings house, I Come a Crost a man that was Shot Throug the body with a musket ball. I had sum Descorse with him & found out who hee was. I found him to be What was Cauled A Refege. I left him & past on. before I got halv way from Where John Coits now lives & Col. Harris, I mett sum men Brengin Sam'el B. Hempsted in a blanket. he had a

Shot throug his thi. I wint a littel further & I met Sum more men Brengin Jonathan whaly whih was wounde. the Enemy had Gott So far & so few to follow, I Riturnd back into the town, which was then all in ashes. I got to Mr. Shaws Stone house whih was on fire on the Ruf. this must Sarve for this Day, ex-
 epting I returnd home & found nearly one hundred peple woming & Children. The next Day I wint to groten, & when I got over the other Side there I saw Liet. Richard Chapman, John Holt, & John Cleark, in a Bote Dead to bee Cared to New London. I went to the fort on Groten hill to See the Carnag which was Dredfull to Behold. there was about twenty men lay Dead Side by Side. we found one man under the platfm Dead, & there ware a Great many of the enemy In the Ditch Round the Redout, which is before the Gate, how many I Cant tell, for they ware not taken out Whilst I was there. But the Enemy Intended to blow up the fort for they Stroed a train of powder from the gate to the magesean & itt burnt from the gate about half way to the magesean, and the Comun-
 ication was cut of by a mans fingers which Sean in the durt. I Stay'd there until all most night & I went home. the 3 Day I took my hors and Went to town hill, to fourt Nonsense, as itt Was Call'd, & as I was

Seting on my hors looking into the fort, Mr. William Hempstead Called to mee. I asked him Watt he Wanted. his answer wass Cum & Drink Sum of Your Jin, & I wint to him. he Sase to me I have Got the Jin. the Dogs hav not found itt. through your means I Saved it. He said to me which way did you go when you left me. I told him that I was Jellos that the enemy was Going to Surround us & cut us of from

I had the ^{of forty or more} Company ~~all~~
of militia & I never saw
but seven of them. that
day as they lived upon the
Shore and their families
were exposed to the ravage
of the Enemy

The Fore going is
What I past through
the 6th Day of Sep^r 1781

John Hemphill

Sep^r 6th 1781

the fort. I Saw them filing of from there left Wing, as tho that was thar Desine. I went over into Mr. Ways lot. I Saw them advans. I saw ther Byonets over the Growing Corn, & wee three in number lay In ambush in a very safe place, & the Enemy advancin in an Indian file, they advanced to a Stone Wall that Coverd our left hand. Wee lay conseald untill they Gethered; about a Dusen or fifteen had Colected. I Bid them to fire. I had agreed before, that I would Reserve my fire. they Ware about Six rod Distant from us. they Deschargd there peases & run to the fort. they returnd the fire. by this time I suppose about twenty Colected. then I arose & Gave them a Shot & Run toward the fort. Hempsted, he sade, Did you Know you kild any of them. I Didnot carting,¹ well there Was two Kild, and wee went to See, & It was as Evident as that there had been two hogs kild, By the blood & whare they Draged them away through a feald of potoes, & ther Sholders tore up the potatoes out of the hills.

From the three Black marks on the other Side Back of this Was the Descorse that past Between Wm. Hempsted and myself on the 3d Day after. I had the command of a company of militia of forty od men, & I never Saw but Seven of them that day, as they lived upon the shore, and ther famely ware exposed to the ravagis of the Enemy.

The Fore going is What I past throug the 6th Day of Sepr., 1781.

JOHN HEMPSTED.

¹ Certain.



NARRATIVE OF THOMAS HERTELL.

NEW YORK, 1832.

COL. JOHN FELLOWS. SIR: In answer to your inquiries in regard to the conduct of the British troops which stormed Fort Griswold at Groton in Connecticut during the Revolutionary War, it may be proper to premise that being in New London at the time of its capture and conflagration by the British forces under the command of that infamous traitor Gen. Benedict Arnold on the 6th of September, 1781, I was an eye-witness of the attack on Fort Griswold on the east side of New London Harbor. Though a minute detail of all the interesting occurrences connected with that affair may not be necessary to the object of your inquiry, I deem it proper to embrace the present occasion to note among others some matters which I have not seen recorded in any history of the Revolution. That portion of Arnold's forces which invested Fort Griswold was variously stated at a Thousand to Fifteen Hundred men [the British said eight hundred] and were commanded by *Lieut. Col. Eyre*. This incursion early in the morning was so sudden and unexpected that only 178 militia [officers included] were enabled to reach the Fort before it became necessary to close the gates.

The enemy divided into two columns made the attack simultaneously on the east and west sides of the fort. That on the east was led by Lieut-Col. Eyre, who fell in the first assault. That on the west was

commanded by Major Montgomery, who was killed near the close of the action.

Three times did the British columns advance in close order with trailed arms and on a run at full speed, with their officers in their rear to oblige them to keep their position and to goad them on; and three times did they quail before a little band of brave but undisciplined republican soldiers who caused death and destruction, in a "lead and iron tempest," exultingly to revel in blood and carnage through their fugitive and flying ranks. Then the conflict seemed to be drawing to a close. The fort ceased firing, and nothing was seen of the enemy but a few officers riding to and fro and endeavoring to rally scattered fragments of their broken columns. The men, dismayed and disheartened, had taken shelter, some behind rocks, some in holes, some behind hillocks, and others lay flat under cover of the undulations of the ground, and none appeared standing within sight and reach from the fort.

They had ceased firing. Except as if in despair, and as if in despite a single musket was occasionally discharged from the lurking-place of a skulking fugitive. A random shot from one of these accidentally cut the halyards of the flag-staff, and the colors were consequently, by a brisk southwest wind, blown outside the fort. This unfortunate occurrence scarcely gave plausibility to the falsehood immediately proclaimed by the British officers, that the fort had struck, or in their polished and more common phrase, "the *damned Yankees had struck their colors.*"

Thus deceived and drawn from their hiding-places, a fourth attack ensued; though more irregular, protracted, and bloody than either of the preceding, was finally successful. But a dear-bought victory it was.

The loss of the British *was more than double the whole number of Americans in the fort.* Considering the great disparity of the conflicting forces, a few undisciplined citizens and farmers, many of whom had never before been in battle, or had never seen a gun fired in anger, engaged with more than four times their own numbers of veteran regular disciplined troops: a more obstinate, determined, resolute, and gallant defence perhaps never before occurred in any nation. A more protracted, hard-fought, and bloody battle probably was not fought during our Revolutionary struggle, and certainly none which reflected more honor on American bravery or more dishonor on British troops.

On entering the works the officer, on whom had devolved the command of the remnant of the British forces, demanded, "*Who commands this fort?*" The gallant Col. Ledyard advancing, answered, "*Sir, I had that honor but now you have,*" — and presented the hilt of his sword to the victor, who demanded, "*Do you know the rules of war?*" "Certainly," said Col. Ledyard. "Then," replied the savage victor, "You rebel, prepare for death," and immediately with Col. Ledyard's own sword *run him through the body.*

A general massacre by the British then ensued; after which seventy or more of the dead and badly wounded of the Americans were collected and laid side by side on their backs and brutally bayoneted again. One young man, a nephew of Col. Ledyard, was discovered secreted in the gun-room covered with wounds, but who saved his life by bribery. Only one man (John Clark of New London) was killed before the enemy entered the fort, when the British had lost nearly half their troops. And only one man of the Americans (and he by stratagem) escaped without a wound.

To complete the work of cruelty and death, the remaining wounded Americans, some of whom might have survived, were thrown into wagons and precipitated down the hill, on the summit of which the fort is situated, toward the river. Some were instantly killed, and others badly injured, and but few if any survived this act of wanton cruelty; and certainly no individual American who defended the fort and escaped death was indebted for his life to the magnanimity or humanity of British officers or men.

In concurrence with the general and deep indignation excited by the above-mentioned cruelties of the enemy, Gen^l Washington gave orders to Gen^l Wayne to retaliate on the British garrison at Stony Point, disobedience of which order was overlooked and excused on account of its humanity.

I could add many other interesting details of occurrences that took place on the memorable occasion above noted and which would honorably contrast the bravery and humanity of American citizen soldiers with the savage brutality of the mercenary myrmidons of the British King George III. I presume, however, the above is sufficient for the object of your inquiry.

Very Respectfully,

THOS. HERTELL.¹

¹ This account of Hertell contains many statements that are not in agreement with the other accounts, but it serves to show the town talk of the time, and its recollections by him fifty-one years after. The statement that the colors fell outside the fort does not agree with the fact that Luke Perkins mounted them on a pike-pole. The loss of the British is greatly exaggerated, and helps to show how hard a matter it is to get at the true facts of minor incidents. Stony Point retaken July 16, 1779.

The account of the conversation occurring before the death of Colonel Ledyard is entirely new. I never heard of it before, or met with any one who had. It is probably such as Hertell heard, and is certainly of the nature of the altercations of the heroes of Troy as related by Homer. There seems no reason to doubt *his* belief in the truth of the story. — A.



THE EXPERIENCE

OF

JONATHAN BROOKS,

AT NEW LONDON, ON THE 6TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1781.

MY father, who belonged to what was called the Independent Company in the militia, and was also a business man, rose at early dawn and walked down to the bank so called, which was the lookout for the harbor. There he saw the enemy's fleet at the mouth of the harbor, and quickly returned and took me down with him to see what was going on. The fleet had not then all anchored, but were dropping in by the western point fast. He said, "they are going to land; go home, take the bridle and get the horse from the pasture as quickly as possible." I did so, and the horse was soon at the door, the pasture being about a mile and a half off. The horse was then loaded with a bed and some clothing and other valuables. My father then mounted and was gone about one hour and a half, and on returning said he had deposited his load and provided quarters for his family at a place he named, about two miles and a half distant. He then gave directions that my brothers Nathan, seven, and John, five years of age, should drive the cow to the rendezvous and remain there, and that my mother and sister should repair thither with all possible speed.

He then armed and equipped himself, mounted his horse, taking me behind him to bring the horse back, telling the family I should be left in charge of the house when I returned. There I was to await the arrival of the enemy in case they succeeded in carrying the fort and town, at the same time charging me to treat them civilly, and furnish them with whatever they called for that the house afforded — which at that time was well stocked with good things; that he himself should, in case he was not killed or badly wounded, and the enemy made good their landing and could not be defeated or stopped, retreat back to his property, which was in buildings and his all, and there make a stand and act according to circumstances. We rode by the fort gate on the lower road, meaning to go to the lighthouse by White Beach, but on coming to the beach it was found that the enemy's small craft were so near in, that we could see the soldiers plainly, and hear them converse. The ships at this time kept up a heavy cannonade; we then left the shore and struck for the heights across the lots. Being unacquainted we came to a place that was miry, and very difficult for the horse to pass through; in short he stuck fast, and we then dismounted and got the horse out of the mire. Before we re-mounted, being but a little distance from where the horse mired, a shot passed through the thicket directly across where we stood to disentangle him, and cut off several saplings of the size of a man's wrist. Whether we were discovered by the ships and fired at, or whether it was a chance shot I know not; at any rate it made us look around. We then made for the cross road that connects the upper and lower roads. At the head of the road we fell in with about one hundred citizens,

volunteer soldiers armed and equipped. My father dismounted and joined them. The party then fell into conversation about how they should manage, having no commanding officer. Some who had no experience in war matters were for fighting at any odds, saying, "let us form where we are and contest the ground inch by inch;" but Captain Nathaniel Saltonstall, who once commanded the ship Putnam, said, "gentlemen, whether I have as much courage as many who have given their opinion, I shall not undertake to say; but this I will say, for one I will not be such a fool as to stand here open breasted and be shot down by the very first volley of the enemy's fire." The enemy were at this time in sight marching in solid columns. At this juncture Colonel Harris rode up with his sword by his side. I can this instant—in imagination—see him. The band were all much elated at seeing him, saying, "now, colonel, we have somebody to command us, and are at your service." The colonel replied, "You must excuse me, gentlemen, as I have a violent sick-headache this morning, and can hardly sit on my horse," then turning his horse and riding off. This conduct of the colonel so enraged many of the people that they were almost like madmen, some cocking and presenting their guns, which were loaded, exclaiming, "let's shoot the d—d rascal." The party now left to themselves, on the sober second thought hapened to hit upon Captain Saltonstall, to whom they now looked to command them, and asked him what they should do—there was no time for parley now. He said, "My advice is to divide ourselves into two parties, each taking the stone wall which is on each side of the road for our shelter; each man take care of himself, and get a shot at the

enemy as best he can." This course was taken, and Benedict Arnold and his army of traitors (for they were almost all of them refugees) were much annoyed by them. My father now told me to return home, put the horse in the barn, and await the arrival of himself or the enemy. I mounted and rode as far as Fort Nonsense, on Town Hill. Seeing quite a bustle there, and having some notion of seeing the fight, I hitched my horse to the wall, and mounted to the top of a very tall sycamore tree. I stayed in the top of the tree until I saw the drag-ropes fixed to the field-pieces and manned for retreat. I then took myself down not very slow, and was off. Directly afterward I fell in with a great booby of a boy whom I knew; he was crying; he said his horse had thrown him, and he wished to go to his Uncle Harris's, the colonel's, almost opposite Fort Nonsense.¹ I said to him, Charles, if you go that way you may see trouble. He cried, and I assisted him to re-mount, and my horse soon cut dirt for home. I was inquired of as I passed, and I told them the enemy had landed, and would be upon them in a twinkling. There was motion and commotion then in good earnest. I arrived safe home, put the horse in the barn according to orders, and then seated myself in a conspicuous place on the side of the street, waiting with anxiety to see the red coats enter Bradley Street. All was perfect silence, and there seemed to be a kind of solemnity reigning in the place.² The si-

¹ The house occupied at that time by Colonel Harris is still preserved, and known to the citizens of New London as the "Robinson House," now owned by Thomas Fitch, Esq.—H.

² Bradley Street, at that time containing twelve to fifteen buildings, consisting mostly of humble dwellings, entirely escaped the conflagration. It has been said these were spared because it was called the "Widows' Row."

lence was soon broken by the entrance of five or six shabby looking fellows into the street on the full run from the south. They passed me without notice, so intent were they probably on the prospect before them, for they shouted as they passed, "by G—d, we'll have fine plunder by-and-by." Very soon I heard a great noise, and I mounted higher on the fence and looked in the direction that the noise proceeded from and saw the doors of a storehouse open,¹ which contained the goods of the prize ship *Hannah*, the invoice of which was £80,000 sterling. The goods were flying out of the store, and I should think thirty or forty persons were loading themselves with plunder and scampering off.

I now heard the call of my mother, who I supposed had gone and left the house. She inquired where the horse was, and on being informed told me to get it and bring it to the door as quick as possible. I did so. She then brought a large sack, saying, "these are very valuable papers of your father's, and you must take them out to your Uncle Richard's,"² (the place provided for the family to flee to.) I remonstrated, saying, "my father's orders were not to leave the house, and that I should lose the chance of seeing the Regulars" — for so the British troops were then called. But she urged me to go, saying, "go, my son, you can get back time enough to see them; I shall follow directly after you." I did go, but I had not proceeded fifty rods before I heard the musketry going crack,

¹ This store-house was situated on "the beach" (Water Street), the second street below that in which Brooks had taken his stand of observation.

² Lieutenant Richard Chapman, who fell that day in the defence of Fort Griswold.

crack, on the whole westerly side of the town. I, however, moved quickly on, and when I came to the head of the cove the street was so crowded with the fleeing women and children, all loaded with something, that I had to move slowly. They inquired where the enemy were. I said, "they will be among you within five minutes if you delay." Their loading was soon thrown down, and they started on a quick pace.¹ I passed on, turning the corner toward Post Hill, and when I turned the corner into the Cohanzy Road the bullets flew whistling over my head at no small rate; I just went clear and that was all, for the enemy were in possession of Post Hill. I went with my bag of papers to the place directed, and went out and gathered peaches, for to return to town at this time was out of the question. In about one hour my mother arrived. She inquired of me where Nathan and John were. It will be recollected that they were sent with the cow in the morning. I told her I had not seen them. She appeared to be violently agitated and alarmed, and at length she said: "Get up the horse and look for them; go here, go there, go everywhere" — all in a breath. I did go, and rode and rode, and returned and reported no tidings of the boys, and off again, until at length I was almost wrought up into a frenzy myself. I then made up my mind to cross over to

¹ Miss Caulkins, in writing of the terrible consternation and alarm of this day, relates the following affecting incident: —

"Amid the bustle of these scenes, when each one was laden with what was nearest at hand or dearest to his heart, one man was seen hastening alone to the burial-ground, with a small coffin under his arm. His child had died the day before, and he could not leave it unburied. In haste and trepidation he threw up the mold, and deposited his precious burden; then covering it quickly and setting up a stone to mark the place, he hurried away to secure other beloved ones from a more cruel spoiler."

Quaker Hill, on the Norwich road, and if I could not hear of them there, to enter the town at all hazards, for I conceived it possible that being unable to drive the cow where directed, for she was in her former pasture, that they were disheartened, and had returned to the house in town, and as the town was on fire, might, as I conceived, be burnt in the house. My God, how my heart-strings vibrated at this idea! Go ahead and save them, says I. With much difficulty I crossed over the lots — an unknown way to me — to the Norwich road, and made fruitless inquiries.

The militia from Norwich and the adjacent country had arrived, commanded by a Colonel Rogers, I believe, and were ordered to halt on the hill. I, however, pushed on for the town, but was immediately stopped by a sentinel, who inquired where I was going. I replied, "into New London." He said, "you cannot go, the enemy are there." I told him I must and should go, come what might. The soldier seeing my determination, seized my bridle and lifted me off the horse and sent me to the colonel. The colonel told me that he was very busy, but that I must not go into town. He was then conversing with his officers about going on a reconnoitering party to a projecting point of land that hung, as it were, over the town. As soon as the party were mounted I stepped up to the colonel and said, "Sir, will you please to let me go with you?" He replied, "certainly, my lad." I mounted my horse and followed along in the rear. When we came to the brink of the hill the party turned to the left into a private road that led to a farm, in order to gain the point of observation. At this time they were much engaged in conversation. Now's your time, says I to myself; go it, Jenny — for that was the name of the

mare — and I put on the string. I entered the north end of the town, passed into Main Street about twenty rods, when the heat and smoke of the burning buildings was such that I could not urge the mare on. I, however, retreated back about twenty rods, put on the whip, and she went through. I had just cleared the burning district at that point, when there was a store, containing a large quantity of gunpowder, blew up, which filled the air with smoke and fragments, which fell around me in every direction. I, however, jogged on unharmed, passed into Bradley Street, where my father's principal buildings were, none of which were burnt, and I satisfied myself that there was no one in the house we occupied. I saw a heavy fire raging on the parade, which was the Court House, Jail, Episcopal Church, &c. I, of course, could not pass that way, and, indeed, the smoke was so dense — there being but little wind — no object whatever could be discovered. I retraced my steps, passed again into Main Street, turned the corner to the right into State Street. No object at this point was discernable on the parade, owing to the density of the smoke. I rode on till opposite the printing office of Timothy Green, Esq.,¹ where in the street flat on his back lay a drunken British soldier, with his gun bayoneted lying beside him. This, I thought, was a good prize, so I slipped softly off of the horse and seized the gun. His cartridge-box and bayonet-sheath were slung to him, and I did not attempt to meddle with them for fear of waking him. I made several attempts in various ways to mount with the gun, but could not succeed, and so I threw it over the fence and left him, thinking I would let well enough alone.

¹ Upper corner of State and Green streets.

I now passed out of town to Rockdale Place, where my Grandfather Chapman lived, and still no news of my brothers.

After leaving Rockdale I fell in with Colonel Latimer and a flock of old Tories, whose names I could mention if so disposed. To Colonel Latimer I told the place and situation of the British soldier, which he said he would have attended to. The soldier was found and detained a prisoner — not, however, by the colonel's means. I was disappointed in not finding my father at the house as he had appointed, and concluded that he was either killed, wounded, or a prisoner; but he was neither. At the time I was in the house he, with a few more inhabitants that were in town, were engaged in the smoke on the parade trying to arrest the progress of the fire, and stop it from passing into Bradley Street, which they succeeded in doing, and saved that part of the town.

Thus you may understand that I passed through the principal streets of New London on the afternoon of the 6th of September, 1781, and never saw a single living creature, except one singed cat, that ran across the street when the store blew up; the soldier was not living, certainly, for he was dead drunk. I was the first person that entered the town after the retreat of the enemy, and from circumstances must have been directly at their heels. My uncle, Richard Chapman, lieutenant under Captain Adam Shaply, at Fort Trumbull, was killed in the massacre at Fort Griswold, on the heights opposite New London, on that disastrous day.

JONATHAN BROOKS.

POST HILL, 1840.



A NARRATIVE
OF THE
BATTLE ON GROTON HEIGHTS,
SEPTEMBER 6TH, 1781.

BY
AVERY DOWNER, M. D.
ASSISTANT SURGEON OF THE EIGHTH REGIMENT OF CONNECTICUT MILITIA.¹

ON the morning of the 6th of September, 1781, a British fleet of twenty-four sail was discovered entering the harbor of New London. Arnold, the commander, being a native of Norwich, and well acquainted with the river and harbor, which was of much service to him, and also many tories and traitors of equal infamy with himself accompanied him, which is evidence that traitors indulge more revenge than a common enemy.

I performed militia military duty as rank and file, by detachment from my company and regiment at Fort Griswold, a number of times during the summer of 1779. In 1781 I served as an assistant surgeon of the

¹ This narrative was first prepared for use as an address on September 6, 1849, but was not used, the attendance being so small on account of a rain-storm. — A.

8th regiment of Connecticut militia, including Fort Griswold in its limits. I well remember the morning of the alarm two guns from the fort in a given time was the alarm. This the enemy well understood, and they fired a third, by which we in Preston were deceived, being fourteen miles distant. Doctor Joshua Downer, my father, and surgeon of the said 8th regiment, said to me and others in the morning that the firing must be an alarm; but it was doubted, until the smoke of New London appeared like a cloud, which I well remember. My father immediately started for the fort and ordered me to follow him.

On his arrival near the meeting-house he met Benjamin Bill and others who had escaped from the enemy slightly wounded. He dressed their wounds, and proceeded to the house of James Bailey, where he found Charles Eldridge wounded in the knee. He dressed him and proceeded, by orders from the field officers of his regiment, to the house of Ebenezer Avery. The surviving British commander, Bloomfield, had ordered all the wounded to be collected on the bank of the river near the house. All that were able to go to New York were sent down to the shipping; the remainder were paroled and left.

Soon after the enemy were gone my father and Doctor Prentiss went into the house and took charge of forty wounded men. I got to their assistance at about twelve o'clock at night. Captain Youngs Ledyard and one more died before morning. By daylight all were taken care of, and we with others went into the fort. When we came to Colonel Ledyard, the friend and neighbor of Doctor Prentiss, he exclaimed, "Oh my God, I cannot endure this!"

Our dead were by the enemy mostly left on the

parade in front of the barracks ; their dead they buried in the ditch, of a triangular work, made to cover the gate. Major Montgomery they buried on the right of the gate as we pass out, which I well remember.¹ According to Arnold's dispatches to His Excellency Sir Henry Clinton, dated Plum Island, September 8th, 1781, it appears that the forces which he sent on the Groton side of the river consisted of the 40th and 54th British regiments, and the 3d battalion of New Jersey volunteers, with a detachment of Yaggers and artillery, all under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre.

Arnold landed his division on the New London side of the river, and was informed by friends that Fort Griswold contained only about twenty or thirty men. In this his good friends deceived him, for in his dispatches he says that the defence was so obstinate that he sent an officer to countermand his order for assault just as the fort was carried. Fort Trumbull on the New London side of the river was little more than a

¹ The Hon. J. P. C. Mather relates that some years since, during his official residence in Hartford — Colonel Samuel Green, son and successor of Timothy Green, publisher of *Connecticut Gazette* in 1781, related to him that some years after the battle an Irish gentleman came to New London selling a patent, or appliance connected with printing. After disposing of that business, at his request, Colonel Green took him to the scene of the battle on Groton Heights, where he sought out a survivor of the fight, from whom he learned of the exact place of Major Montgomery's burial ; and explained that he came from the same town as the Major, whose sisters, still living, had charged him, if his travels in America brought him near the place of their brother's death, to find his grave and if possible procure his skull and bring it home to be buried within the family circle in the old church-yard.

With the assistance of the Colonel and the survivor he obtained the sought-for relic and departed well pleased with the result of his visit. After the above was written, in an interview with a daughter of one of the survivors, she volunteered the same information as occurring within her own knowledge. Though not quite so full, as to the interested parties, her facts agreed with the above. — A.

water battery open from behind, and the enemy coming in that direction the men spiked their guns and crossed the river and went into Fort Griswold.

On the approach of the British the commander sent a Captain Beckwith, a Jersey refugee, to demand a surrender of the fort. Colonel Ledyard ordered a shot fired in front, which stopped the flag. He then sent Captain Amos Stanton and Captain Shapley with his flag; the demand of Beckwith was refused and the flags returned.

Eyre and Montgomery then advanced their columns, and the attack commenced on three sides of the fort at the same time.

In about forty minutes the assailants entered the fort. According to Arnold's dispatches, before referred to, as published in Green's paper of New London, (*Connecticut Gazette*.) it appears that his loss was —

KILLED.	WOUNDED.
1 Major,	1 Lieutenant-Colonel,
1 Captain.	3 Captains,
2 Sergeants,	2 Lieutenants,
44 Rank and File.	2 Ensigns,
Since died of wounds,	3 Sergeants,
1 Captain,	2 Drummers,
1 Lieutenant,	127 Rank and File.
1 Ensign.	

Total killed and died of wounds, 51. Total wounded, deducting three since died of wounds, 137.

The American loss was, killed, 84; wounded, 40.

Stephen Hempstead, one of the wounded survivors of the action, went to the State of Missouri, near St. Louis, in 1811. He published there a narrative of the battle on Groton Heights — correct in some things

and very incorrect in others — and particularly so in the case of Colonel Nathan Gallup. In his narrative he says: "But a militia colonel was in the fort, and promised Colonel Ledyard that if he would hold out he would reinforce him in fifteen minutes with two or three hundred men. Colonel Ledyard agreed to send back a defiance upon the most solemn assurance of immediate succour. For this purpose Colonel ——— started, his men being then in sight; but he was no more seen, nor did he even attempt a diversion in our favor." Almost every person knew that Colonel Nathan Gallup was meant. He was at that time lieutenant-colonel of the 8th regiment of Connecticut Militia.

The true facts in the case are these: Colonel Benadam Gallup was in the fort previous to the action. Colonel Ledyard requested him to go back as far as Captain Belton's and urge on the men, but before he had time to return the enemy were so near that he could not re-enter the fort.¹

In 1782 Colonel McClellen, of Woodstock, was commander of New London harbor. At that time a court-martial was held for the trial of officers. Colonel Nathan Gallup came before said court as a prisoner, under six specific charges, from the whole of which he was acquitted with honor and his certificate of acquittal signed by all the officers of the court, viz. the following:

¹ Colonel Benadam Gallup, an older brother of Colonel Nathan Gallup, was an old man, of prominence in the town, but had no military office at the time, his title being acquired in the time of the French War.

Colonel Nathan was court-martialed and acquitted, but Benadam, not being of the military, had no tribunal but that of popular opinion, which unfortunately for him was in need of a victim, and by some mischance he became the target for abuse, as responsible for the lack of a diversion in favor of the garrison, as any old resident of Groton will remember.

Roger Newberry, of Hartford County, *President.*

Hezekiah Bissel, of Windham, *Judge Advocate.*

Joshua Downer, *Surgeon.*

Avery Downer, *Assistant Surgeon.*

Medical staff of said 8th regiment of Connecticut Militia.

When I look over the names inscribed on the tablets of the monument erected as a memorial of their heroism, language fails me to express my feelings. With many of them I was well acquainted, particularly with Captain Amos Staunton and his lieutenant, Henry Williams, both natives of Groton, and at that time home on furloughs from the army.

They went into the conflict as volunteers, left their wives and children and everything near and dear to them, in defending the rights of their country. Can we and shall we, their descendants, pass over the memory of such patriotic men, and their invincible courage and fortitude be forgotten? No; let their heroism and valor be engraved on the tablets of our hearts and all that may follow us, and endure as long as the sun and the moon shall light the day and the night.

This narrative is this day finished with my own hand. I am 88 years and 5 months old.

AVERY DOWNER.

PRESTON, April 17th, 1851.



A NARRATIVE
OF THE
CAPTURE OF FORT GRISWOLD,
AND INCIDENTS CONNECTED THEREWITH, AS RELATED BY
MAYOR GEORGE MIDDLETON, OF NEWARK, N. Y.,
AN EYE-WITNESS OF THE SCENE.

I AM perhaps the only person living who witnessed the capture of Fort Griswold by the British on the 6th day of September, 1781, and although now in my eighty-sixth year, my recollection of the scene and its incidents is as vivid as if the event transpired but yesterday.

At that time I was only twelve years old, but the reader, methinks, will not wonder if the scenes of my boyhood days come thronging back upon the memory of an aged man with much of the distinctness of a present reality when those scenes were impressed upon the mind amid the booming of cannon and the agonizing shrieks of those who stood on an eminence from the scene of conflict, and saw their husbands, sons, and lovers falling, one by one, before the wasting fire of the enemy.

I resided with my father in the town of Groton, about two miles east of New London.

The reader is aware that New London was, at the time of the Revolution, a place of considerable note, and was situated on the west side of the river Thames;

on the east side of the river was what was then called Groton Bank, and was then quite a village. Farther east of this was Fort Griswold. This fort was situated on a high hill, and was surrounded by a trench or ditch about five feet deep and some six or eight feet in width. On the morning of the 6th of September, 1781, I was awoke by the firing of cannon, and upon ascending a height a short distance from my father's residence, which overlooked New London, the harbor's mouth, and from which I could gain a fair view of the fort and the distance between that and the harbor. From this point I descried the British fleet off the mouth of New London harbor in the act of landing their troops on the east and west side of the harbor. Soon after ascending the hill, the women and children began to congregate there, wringing their hands, and crying, "Oh, my son!" children crying, "Oh, my father!" and "Oh, my brother!"

These troops were commanded by General Arnold, the traitor, who landed with a portion of the troops on the west, or New London side of the river, near by the light-house, about two miles below New London, and marched up and took Fort Trumbull, which stood on a peninsula of land about one quarter of a mile south of New London, and from there marched his troops into New London and set it on fire, by which it was almost wholly reduced to ashes. The other division of troops landed on the east side of the river at a place called Groton Point, and under the command of Col. Eyre and Major Montgomery. This division on landing was again divided, one portion marching directly towards Fort Griswold and the other portion marching further east, and keeping under cover of thick woods until they got to the terminus of the

woods at a great gate opening through a thick stone wall, and being a little south of east on a direct line from the fort. Here the division halted, and Major Montgomery sent Captain Beckwith with a flag to the fort to demand its surrender. Colonel Ledyard, the commander of the fort, sent a flag and met Beckwith, who demanded a surrender of the fort. The bearer of the American flag answered, "Colonel Ledyard will maintain the fort to the last extremity." Captain Beckwith then waved his flag, at which signal the British troops immediately took up their march in solid column through the gate. While they were passing through the gate the cannon from the fort was opened upon them, which caused them to wheel to the right and march under cover of a hill by the side of a cedar swamp, until they got abreast of the fort; then they broke their columns and ran with trailed arms to the fort, during which time they fired with small arms from the fort.

The enemy attacked the fort on three sides at once, and getting into the ditch and climbing up on the opposite side they cut away the pickets, and with their scaling ladders entered the fort and tore away the gate from the inside. But in the mean time, while the enemy were in the ditch, those in the garrison fought by throwing hot shot upon them; but when they had got into the embrasures, those defending the fort changed their weapons and fought desperately with spears or pikes fifteen or sixteen feet in length, with which they did good execution. On passing through one of these embrasures Major Montgomery was killed by spears in the hands of Captain Shapley and a black man named Jordan Freeman,¹ both stabbing him at

¹ Freeman was himself afterwards killed by a bayonet thrust. — ED. P.

the same time. His last words were, "Put every man to death."

After Major Montgomery was killed, Captain Bloomfield took the command and inquired who commanded the fort. Colonel Ledyard, finding resistance longer useless, presented his sword to Captain Bloomfield, and said, "I did, sir, but you do now," at the same time handing the hilt of his sword to Captain Bloomfield, who took it and plunged it into the bosom of Colonel Ledyard, and he fell on his face and expired.

After butchering with their bayonets some time, one of the British officers said, "My soul cannot bear such destruction," and ordered the drums to beat a parley.

They then took the American dead and laid them out upon the parade ground, and buried their own dead just outside of the fort, in a heap promiscuously, and covered them up slightly, with the exception of Major Montgomery, and for him they dug a grave within the parapets of the fort, in front of the gates, and buried him decently.

They then took the wounded Americans, loaded them into a wagon, and undertook to take them down the hill, but not being able to hold the wagon, they let it run, and with great violence it came in contact with an apple-tree, and the stop was so sudden as to throw many of the poor bleeding fellows out, and some were killed by the shock. One poor fellow who was thrown out, in attempting to crawl away, was knocked in the head by the breech of a gun.

The British on leaving laid a train of powder to communicate with the magazine, and set a slow-match on fire to ignite the train for the purpose of blowing up the fort. As soon as the enemy had left, an Amer-

ican¹ entered the fort and put out the match and saved the powder and the fort.

Although then but a boy, I knew personally Colonel William Ledyard, Captain William Latham, Lieutenant Nathan Moore, David Avery, Solomon Avery, Daniel Avery, Thomas Avery, Hubbard Burrows, David Palmer, Sylvester Walworth, Patrick Ward, Mr. Scoville,² and Mr. Davis, all of whom were killed in the taking of the fort; and of the wounded with whom I was personally acquainted were Park Avery, John Morgan, Mr. Woodmensee, Samuel Edgecomb, and Joshua Baker.

There was in the fort at the time the enemy made the attack only about one hundred and twenty persons, and these hastily collected from the community around, while the enemy were about eight hundred strong.

The people of Groton have erected a monument in commemoration of this event, in which is inscribed the names of all persons killed during this engagement; also the following words: "Zebulon and Naph-tali were a people that jeopardded their lives unto the death in the high places of the field." Judges v. 18.

¹ Major Peters, of Norwich. — *Caulkins*

² This is probably Phillip Covil.





FROM

RIVINGTON'S ROYAL GAZETTE,¹

(NEW YORK.)

ON Thursday morning, the 6th inst., the fleet arrived off New London harbor, where a part of the brave though little army were sent to Groton, opposite New London, under command of Colonel Ayre, of the 40th regiment, to take possession of Fort Cressel, which commanded not only the entrance of New London harbor, but the mouth of the river Thames leading to Norwich. On the appearance of the fleet five or six privateers lying in New London harbor availed themselves of their oars and went up said river; but before the rebels had an opportunity of getting their valuable vessels out, General Arnold made it necessary for them to look out for their personal safety. In the mean time Colonel Ayre, with the detachment under his command, landed within three miles of Fort Cressel, and marched up with the spirit peculiar to the British nation; and though the country was so very rocky as to render it impossible for their artillery and howitzers to be brought to co-oper-

¹ The above was copied in *Connecticut Gazette*, Friday, September 21, 1781, with this prelude: — A.

“The following is inserted with a view of convincing our Readers what infamous Falsehoods our Enemies are capable of publishing to the world.” —

ate with them, their thirst for glory was such that as soon as they came to the skirt of a wood within about a mile of the fort,¹ they sent an officer with a flag demanding an immediate surrender, with a threat that if the demand was not complied with, it would be stormed five minutes after the return of the flag.

The officer who carried it advanced to a little eminence before the fort, and was met by an officer from it, who requested to know his errand, his rank, &c.; but being told that his business was with the commanding officer of the fort, he returned. After a considerable time on that spot the GREAT COMMANDER appeared, accompanied by another officer; the former having asked the gentleman who demanded the surrender his rank, and being satisfied that he was a captain in the British service, desired him to talk with and make his demand known to the captain who accompanied him, that he was of equal rank, and that for his "own part he was Colonel Ledyard, commanding officer of the fort."

The doughty rebel captain, being informed of the demand, told the officer that Colonel Ledyard had determined, as the fort was well garrisoned, and in every respect in a proper state of defence, he was under no apprehension of bad consequences, and would defend the fort to the last extremity.

The detention of the flag had tired the patience of not only Colonel Ayre, but of every officer and pri-

¹ The British headquarters that day were at the "Old Avery House" — now demolished — situated about three quarters of a mile southeast of the fort, on the road running through the woods from Groton to Poquonoc. Here the soldiers gratified their love of mischief by wantonly destroying the summer's dairy, breaking the furniture, throwing the old clock out through the window, and badly frightening, by threats of abduction, a young mother left with her infant alone in the house. — H.

vate centinel under his command, and on its return the order was given for an immediate storm, which was immediately put in execution. When the troops entered, there was before the fort (which was regularly built with stone, mounting on the upper battery three, and on the lower eight pieces of cannon, with bastions at each corner, with guns to reach each curtain line,) a chevaux-de-frize, and a ditch of seven feet in depth on each square, with stockades on the sides next the fort. When the troops got into the ditch the rebels struck the flag and ceased firing,¹ until they pulled out some of the stakes and mounted on the range, when the rebels began to play their guns from the bastions, and attempted to defend their ramparts, but the valor of our troops prevailed, and the rebels fled into the casemates of the fortress, and some of them fired through the loop-holes; but the doors being burst open they were compelled to beg mercy, which being the darling attribute of Britons even to a fault, they spared the catiffs. It is said the number of men in Fort Cressel was 250; forty of them being wounded were admitted to their parole, about 70 were sent prisoners on board the fleet, and the residue reaped the BLESSED fruits of their obstinacy.² In the town of Groton the wounded, with the women and children, were put in two houses used as hospitals, and the

¹ This incident is referred to in no other account, and is, without doubt, untrue. Had such been the fact Arnold would not have allowed to pass unnoticed a circumstance in which there would have been so much palliation for the massacre which followed. — H.

² This malignant report was, without doubt, furnished by Captain Beckwith, who was the officer sent to demand the surrender. He accompanied Lord Dalrymple as bearer of dispatches from Arnold to Sir Henry Clinton, and arrived in New York some time before the remainder of the expedition, or any person who could have given so detailed an account in time to publish so soon after the battle. — H.

town, together with two magazines, intirely demolished. At New London the magazines, the town, and all the shipping in the harbour, were instantly reduced to ashes, but the number of killed, wounded, and prisoners taken, we have not yet been able to learn.

The breast of every honest loyalist can not help emotions of joy on finding that the most detestable nest of pirates on the continent have at last (the measure of their iniquity being full) attracted the notice of his Excellency the commander-in-chief. The quantity of European and West India goods in New London were immense. All their store-houses being full, several cargoes were deposited in barns. It was, in fact, the magazine of America, and the blow now given will affect the sensitive nerves of every staunch rebel on the continent. Before the troops left the forts at New London, and Fort Cressel at Groton, they beat off the trunions of the cannon and spiked them up.¹

¹ Comments in *Connecticut Gazette* on above article : — A.

“But a very small part of the above relation is true. Arnold was sent to destroy the Stores of Privateers and the Forts, but he did not accomplish either of them. The Forts remain undemolished even the Barracks and Magazines are safe. The Privateers took their Stores on board and went up the River in safety ; and twelve sail of other vessels, loaded with the most valuable goods out of the Stores and went up the River. It is true that the Enemy burnt about 56 Stores, nearly empty, 60 Dwelling Houses and 20 Barns, as also the Court House, Jail, and Church, and to the eternal infamy of the British Troops they murdered 70 of our worthy Citizens in Fort Griswold after they had surrendered themselves Prisoners and asked for Quarter.” —





BRIGADIER-GENERAL ARNOLD'S REPORT

TO

SIR HENRY CLINTON.

PLUM ISLAND, Sept. 8th, 1781.

SIR: I have the honor to inform your Excellency that the transports with the detachment of troops under my orders, anchored on the Long Island shore on the 5th inst., at 2 P. M., about ten leagues from New London, and having made some necessary arrangements, weighed anchor at 7 P. M., and stood for New London with a fair wind. At one o'clock the next morning we arrived off the harbor, when the wind suddenly shifted to the northward, and it was 9 o'clock before the transports could beat in.

At 10 o'clock the troops, in two divisions and in four debarkations, were landed, one on each side of the harbor, about three miles from New London, that on the Groton side consisting of the 40th and 54th regiments, and the 3d battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers, with a detachment of Yaggers and artillery, were under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre.

The division on the New London side consisted of the 38th regiment,¹ the Loyal Americans,² the American Legion Refugees, and a detachment of 60 Yag-

¹ This was Sir Robert Pigot's regiment, but it is not known whether he was with the expedition. The uniform was red faced with yellow.—*Caulkins.*

² Colonel Beverly Robinson's regiment.



B. Arnold

gers,¹ who were immediately, on their landing, put in motion, and at 11 o'clock, being within half a mile of Fort Trumbull, which commands New London harbor, I detached Captain Millet with four companies of the 38th regiment to attack the fort, who was joined on his march by Captain Frink with one company of the American Legion. At the same time I advanced with the remainder of the division west of Fort Trumbull, on the road to the town to attack a redoubt which had kept up a brisk fire on us for some time, but which the enemy evacuated on our approach. In this work we found 6 pieces of cannon mounted, and 2 dismounted. Soon after I had the pleasure to see Captain Millet march into Fort Trumbull under a shower of grape-shot from a number of cannon which the enemy had turned upon him; and I have the pleasure to inform your Excellency that by the sudden attack and determined bravery of the troops the fort was carried with the loss of 4 or 5 men killed and wounded. Captain Millet had orders to leave one company in Fort Trumbull, to detach one to the redoubt we had taken, and to join me with the other two companies.

No time on my part was lost in gaining the town of New London. We were opposed by a small body of the enemy with one field-piece, who were so hard pressed that they were obliged to leave the piece, which being iron was spiked and left.²

As soon as the enemy was alarmed in the morning

¹ Hessian Light Infantry. They wore a dark green uniform with bright red trimmings. — *Caulkins.*

² This gun was a six-pounder, situated on Manwaring's Hill, and was used for the purpose of firing salutes; but on this occasion three or four resolute persons discharged it upon the enemy as they came down Town Hill, and then fled. — *Caulkins.*

we could perceive that they were very busily employed in bending sails, and endeavouring to get their privateers and other ships into Norwich River out of our reach ; but the wind being small and the tide against them they were obliged to anchor again. From information I received before and after landing I had reason to believe that Fort Griswold, on Groton side, was very incomplete ; and I was assured, (by friends to government,¹) after my landing, that there were only 20 or 30 men in the fort, the inhabitants in general being on board their ships, and busy in saving their property. On taking possession of Fort Trumbull I found the enemy's ships would escape unless we could possess ourselves of Fort Griswold ; I therefore dispatched an officer to Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre with the intelligence I had received, and requested him to make an attack upon the fort as soon as possible, at which time I expected the howitzer was up, and would have been made use of. On my gaining a height of ground in the rear of New London, from which I had a good prospect of Fort Griswold,² I found it much more formidable than I expected, or than I had formed an idea of, from the information I had before received. I observed at the same time that the men who had escaped from Fort Trumbull had crossed the river in boats

¹ Arnold dined that day at the house of *his friend*, James Tilley, on Bank Street ; but the hospitality of the latter did not prevent the destruction of his buildings. Before they arose from the table the roof over their heads was in flames, though, we must suppose, from accidental ignition or misapprehension of orders, as Tilley is said to have been well known as a "*friend to government*." — H. Jeremiah Miller is said by others to have been the host on this occasion. Both he and Tilley had their houses on the Bank burned. — A.

² The old burial-ground. It is said by old citizens that Arnold's point of observation was the Winthrop tomb, whence he directed the movements of his soldiers in the destruction of the town. — H.

and had thrown themselves into Fort Griswold ; and a favorable wind springing up about this time, the enemy's ships were escaping up the river, notwithstanding the fire from Fort Trumbull and a 6-pounder which I had with me. I immediately dispatched a boat with an officer to Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre to countermand my first order to attack the fort, but the officer arrived a few minutes too late. Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre had sent Captain Beckwith to demand the surrender of the fort, which was peremptorily refused, and the attack had commenced. After a most obstinate defence of near forty minutes the fort was carried by the superior bravery and perseverance of the battalions. The attack was judicious and spirited, and reflects the highest honor on the officers and troops engaged, who seemed to vie with each other in being first in danger.

The troops approached on three sides of the work, which was a square with flanks, made a lodgement in the ditch, and under a heavy fire which they kept up on the works effected a second lodgement upon the fraizing, which was attended with great difficulty, as only a few pickets could be forced out or broken in a place, and was so high that the soldiers could not ascend without assisting each other. Here the coolness and bravery of the troops was very conspicuous, as the first who ascended the fraize were obliged to silence a nine-pounder, which infiladed the place upon which they stood until a sufficient body had collected to enter the works, which was done with fixed bayonets through the embrasures, where they were opposed with great obstinacy by the garrison with long spears.¹ On

¹ Probably boarding-pikes, used on board naval vessels in close combat.

this occasion I have to regret the loss of Major Montgomery, who was killed by a spear on entering the enemy's works ;¹ also of Ensign Willock,² of the 40th, who was killed in the attack. Three other officers of the same regiment were also wounded.³ Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre and three other officers of the 54th⁴ regiment were also wounded, but I have the satisfaction to inform your Excellency that they are all in a fair way to recover. Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre, who behaved with great gallantry, having received his wound near the works, and Major Montgomery being killed immediately after, the command devolved on Major Bromfield,⁵ whose behaviour on this occasion does him great honor. Lieutenant-Colonel Buskirk,⁶ with the New Jersey Volunteers and artillery, being the second debarkation, came up soon after the works were carried, having been retarded by the roughness of the country. I am much obliged to this gentleman for his exertions, although the artillery did not arrive in time.

I have annexed a Return of the killed and wounded, by which your Excellency will observe that our loss, though very considerable, is very short of the Enemy's, who lost most of their officers, among whom was their

¹ Major William Montgomery was killed by a powerful negro named Jordan Freeman. And Lieut. Henry Williams by some traditions.

² Archibald Willock.

³ From General Orders I learn the 40th lost Captain George Craigie, Lieutenant H. William Smith, and Ensign Thomas Hyde, who died of their wounds. Captain Samuel Wogan of American Legion was wounded.

⁴ Lieutenant Colonel Edmond Eyre, Captain Rich, Lieutenant Th^o Daunt, Ensign William Rainforth, and volunteer James Boyd, were the wounded. Col. Eyre was in the 64th Regiment in 1782.

⁵ Stephen Bromfield, in English Army Register for 1781, and Blomfield in that of 1782.

⁶ Alexander Van Buskirk. — A.

commander, Colonel Ledyard. Eighty-five men were found dead in Fort Griswold, and sixty wounded, most of them mortally. Their loss on the opposite side must have been considerable, but can not be ascertained. I believe we have about 70 prisoners besides the wounded who were paroled. Ten or twelve of the Enemy's ships were burned, among them three or four armed vessels, and one loaded with Naval Stores. An immense quantity of European and West India Goods were found in the stores; among the former the cargo of the *Hannah*, Captain Watson, from London, lately captured by the Enemy, the whole of which was burnt with the stores, which proved to contain a large Quantity of Powder unknown to us. The explosion of the Powder and change of wind soon after the stores were fired communicated the flames to that part of the Town, which was, notwithstanding every effort to prevent it, unfortunately destroyed.¹ Upwards of 50 pieces of Iron Cannon were destroyed in the different Works, (exclusive of the Guns of the Ships,) a particular return of which I can not do myself the Honor to transmit to your Excellency at this time.

¹ There is the greatest absurdity in this part of the narrative, for in many instances where houses were situated at a great distance from any stores, and contained nothing but household furniture, they were set on fire, notwithstanding the earnest cries and entreaties of the women and children in them, who were threatened with being burnt up in their houses if they did not instantly leave them. Indeed two houses were bought off for ten pounds each after an officer, who appeared to be a captain, had ordered them fired, which was the sum proposed by the officer, upon condition, however, that he should not be made known; and where the houses were not burnt they were chiefly plundered of all that could be carried off. At the Harbor's Mouth the houses of poor fishermen were stripped of their furniture of every kind, the poor people having nothing left but the clothes they had on.— *Connecticut Gazette*, October 5th, 1781.

* * * * *

A very considerable Magazine of Powder, and Barracks to contain 300 men, were found in Fort Griswold, which Captain Lemoine, of the Royal Artillery, had my positive directions to destroy. An attempt was made by him, but unfortunately failed. He had my orders to make a second attempt. The reason why it was not done Captain Lemoine will have the honor to explain to your Excellency.¹ I should be wanting in justice to the gentlemen of the Navy did I omit to acknowledge that on this expedition I have received every possible aid from them. Captain Beazly has made every exertion to assist our operations, and not only gave up his cabin to the sick and wounded officers, but furnished them with every assistance and refreshment his ship afforded. Lord Dalrymple will have the honor to deliver my dispatches. I beg leave to refer your Excellency to his Lordship for the particulars of our operations on the New London side. I feel myself under great obligations to him for his exertions upon the occasion. Captain Beckwith,² who was extremely serviceable to me, returns with his Lordship. His spirited conduct in the attack of Fort Griswold does him great honor, being one of the first officers who entered the work. I beg leave to refer your Excellency to him for the particulars of our operations on that side, and to say I have the highest opinion of

¹ *Extract from General Orders of the 25th of September, 1781.* — The Commander-in-chief informs the army that Captain Lemoine, of the Royal Artillery, has explained to his satisfaction the reasons that prevented his carrying into execution the orders of Brigadier-General Arnold on the 6th of September, 1781. CLINTON.

² This Captain George Beckwith was Lieutenant-General and commander of the expedition which reduced Martinique and Guadaloupe in 1809, and was made a K. C. B. June 20th, 1809, afterward Governor of Barbadoes for four years. — A.

his abilities as an officer. I am greatly indebted to Captain Stapleton (who acted as Major of Brigade) for his spirited conduct and assistance; in particular on the attack on Fort Trumbull, and his endeavor to prevent plundering,¹ (when the public stores were burnt,) and the destruction of private buildings. The officers and troops in general behaved with the greatest intrepidity and firmness. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servt.,

B. ARNOLD.

RETURN OF KILLED AND WOUNDED.

1 Major, 1 Ensign, 2 Sergeants, and 44 Rank and File, killed; 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 3 Captains, 2 Lieutenants, 2 Ensigns, 8 Sergeants, 2 Drummers, and 127 Rank and File, wounded. Of the wounded officers 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, and 1 Ensign, are since dead.

JOHN STAPLETON.

Captain and Acting Major of Brigade.

¹ It was afterwards well understood that most of the spoil and havoc in private houses was the work of a few worthless vagrants of the town, who prowled in the wake of the invader, hoping, in the general confusion, not to be detected. — *Caulkins*.

RETURN OF ORDNANCE, AMMUNITION, &c.,

Taken this day in Fort Griswold and its dependencies,
by a detachment of His Majesty's troops under the
command of Brigadier-General Arnold, on an expedi-
tion to Connecticut, viz., in Fort Griswold:

ORDNANCE, IRON, MOUNTED ON CARRIAGES.

Garrison 18 pounders, 1	12 pounders,	14
9 " 2	6 "	1
4 " 1	3 "	1
Travelling 12 " 1	4 "	2
Total,		23

IN THE FLECHE.

Ordnance, Iron, on Travelling Carriages,	4 pounders,	3
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ON THE LOWER BATTERY.

Ordnance, Iron, Mounted on Garrison Carriages	{ 18 pounders,	7
	{ 12 "	2
Total of Iron Ordnance,		35
Pikes, 80	Musquets, French,	106

ROUND SHOT.

18 pounders,	1680	12 pounders,	2100
9 "	290	6 "	100
4 "	200	3 "	40

GRAPE, STANDS OF.

18 pounders,	230	12 pounders,	340
9 "	75	6 "	70
4 "	90	3 "	75

CARTRIDGES, PAPER FILLED.

18 pounders,	12	12 pounders,	23	9 pounders,	8
6 "	4	4 "	14	3 "	6

Musket Cartridges, 10,000.

Powder, corned, 150 wt.

1 Garrison Spare carriage. 12 pounder.

1 Travelling " " " "

1 Gyn Triangle compleat; 2 ammunition waggons,
Stores for the Laboratory, &c., &c., &c.

J. LEMOINE,
Captain of Artillery.

BETSEY, SLOOP, NEW LONDON HARBOUR, 6TH SEPT., 1781.

Return of ordnance found and spiked by a detatchment of the army under the command of Brigadier-General Arnold, on the New London side, 6th Sept., 1781:

Iron 18 pounders mounted in Fort Trumbull,	12
Iron 6 pounders mounted in Fort Trumbull,	3
Iron 12 or 9 pounders mounted at Fort Folly, ¹	6
Iron 12 or 9 pounders dismounted,	2
Iron 12 pounders on the road to New London,	1
	<hr/>
	24

A Quantity of ammunition and stores of different kinds were destroyed in the Magazine at Fort Trumbull, and the Meeting House at New London.

WILLIAM H. HORNDON,
First Lieutenant, Regiment Royal Artillery.

¹ This was known to the Americans by the kindred name of Fort Nonsense. It occupied the extreme height of Town Hill, where now stands the house erected for F. M. Hale, Esq. now occupied by Mrs. M. L. Alger. When the excavation was being made for the cellar, several relics of its Revolutionary history, in the shape of round and grape shot, deeply eaten by rust, were exhumed.



LIEUTENANT-COLONEL UPHAM
TO
GOVERNOR FRANKLIN,¹ OF NEW JERSEY,
DATED SEPTEMBER 13TH, 1781.

IMMEDIATELY on receipt of yours by Capt. Camp I made every preparation consistent with the necessary secrecy to furnish as many Refugees for the proposed expedition as could be spared from the garrison.

My first care was to put a supply of provisions on board the vessels. I talked of an expedition, and proposed to go myself, nor could I do more until the fleet appeared in sight. Major Hubbil was too unwell

¹ This worthy had recently returned from his rural quarters in Litchfield jail, where he, with Mayor Mathews, of New York, was confined, in 1776, by the committee "for inquiring into and detecting conspiracies." — *Hollister*.

William Franklin, last royal governor of New Jersey, in office from 1762 to 1782, two years of which time he spent in jail in Connecticut (alluded to above), being released only in exchange for the provincial "President of Delaware." In 1782 he sailed for England, where the Government paid him £1,800 for losses and £800 per year pension. He was a natural son of Benjamin Franklin, born in Philadelphia, 1729; died in England, November 17, 1813. His mother is unknown. About a year after his birth his father married, took the child to his home, and brought him up as his son.

B. F. gave to William by will, his lands in Nova Scotia, also all debts due from him, and added this clause: "The part he acted against me in the late war, which is of public notoriety, will account for my leaving him no more of an estate he endeavored to deprive me of." — A.

to go with me; I therefore left him to take charge of the fort, and with as much dispatch as possible embarked one hundred Loyalists, exclusive of a sufficient number of men to man the two armed sloops. With these we joined the fleet in season to prevent the least delay.

By the enclosed arrangement you see we had the honor to be included in the first division, and I have the pleasure to add we were the first on shore.

We advanced on the right of the whole to a height at a small distance from the shore, where we were ordered to cover the 38th regiment from a wood on our right until the second division came up.

We were then ordered to change our position from the right to the left at the distance of two hundred yards from the main body.

This alteration derived its propriety from the circumstance of the rebels having gone over to the left, from an apprehension of being too much crowded between our troops and the river on their left. Thus arranged we proceeded to the town of New London, constantly skirmishing with rebels, who fled from hill to hill, and from stone fences which intersected the country at small distances. Having reached the southerly part of the town¹ the general requested me to take possession of the hill north of the meeting-house,² where the rebels had collected, and which they seemed re-

¹ Colonel Upham's command defiled through Cape Ann Street and Lewis Lane, and set fire to the house of Pickett Latimer, on the old Colchester road, now Vauxhall Street. — *Caulkins*. This was the first building destroyed; in it were the goods of the inhabitants, who removed them to it from the central portion of the town, as being a place of greater safety.

² This was the hill just back of Pound, now Granite Street, extending down to the First Burying Ground. — A.

solved to hold. We made a circle to the left, and soon gained the ground in contest.

Here we had one man killed and one wounded.¹ This height being the outpost was left to us and the Yāgers. Here we remained, exposed to a constant fire from the rebels on the neighboring hills, and from the fort on the Groton side, until the last was carried by the British troops. We took the same route in our return as in going up, equally exposed, though not so much annoyed. Every thing required was cheerfully undertaken, and spiritedly effected by the party I had the honor to command.

A small party from Vanalstine's Post joined us, which increased my command to 120. They landed and returned with us, and behaved exceedingly well. The Armed Vessels' Association, and Colonel Martin, went close into the shore, and covered the landing on the New London side. At the request of the General I furnished boats to land forty of the troops on the Groton side. Captains Gardener and Thomas² would have gladly gone up to the town, but were not permitted.

¹ Jonathan Brooks, an eye-witness of the destruction of the town, says : "The man who was killed was shot by a party on the hill lot just north of Vauxhall Street, and was buried where he fell near to an ash tree," probably one of those now standing near corner of Vauxhall and Channing streets. — A.

² This is no doubt the Captain Thomas on board whose sloop Rufus Avery was put as prisoner. (See page 42, R. Avery's Narrative.)





SIR HENRY CLINTON'S

GENERAL ORDERS.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL ARNOLD having reported to the commander-in-chief the success of the expedition, under his direction, against New London on the 6th inst., His Excellency has the pleasure of signifying to the army the high sense he entertains of the very distinguished merit of the corps employed upon that service.

But whilst he draws the greatest satisfaction from the ardor of the troops which enabled them to carry by assault a work of such great strength as Fort Griswold is represented to be, he can not but lament with the deepest concern the heavy loss in officers and men sustained by the 40th and 54th regiments, who had the honor of the attack; and as no words can do justice to the discipline and spirit which they shewed on that occasion, His Excellency can only request they will not fail to represent their conduct to their sovereign in the most honorable terms. The commander-in-chief begs leave to express his obligation to Brigadier-General Arnold for his very spirited conduct on the occasion; and he assures that general officer that he took every precaution in his power to prevent the destruction of the town, which is a misfortune that gives him much concern. His Excellency also feels himself greatly indebted to all the officers of the Regular and Provincial Corps which accompanied him on

that service, but more particularly to Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre, Major Bromfield, and Captain Millet, who commanded the attack, and Lord Dalrymple, Captains Beckwith and Stapleton, of whose very able assistance and distinguished gallantry the brigadier makes the most honorable mention.

The commander-in-chief has likewise the greatest pleasure in taking this public occasion of signifying to the army how much they are indebted to the humanity and benevolence of Captain Beazley, of His Majesty's Ship *Amphion*, to whose very friendly and generous assistance many of the wounded officers and men are most probably indebted for their lives.

FRED. MACKENZIE, *D. A. General.*





COURT-MARTIAL.

AN extract from the proceedings of a general Court-Martial, beginning and held at New London and Groton, in the state of Connecticut, on the 20th day of August, Anno Domini 1782, by warrant and order of His Excellency the Captain-General of the said state, of which Brigadier-General Roger Newberry was President,

In which the following crimes and charges were exhibited at said Court, and by them with the proofs asserting the same were duly heard and considered, after which the sentences of said Court-martial were as follows:

Jonathan Latimer, Colonel of the 3d¹ regiment, for breach of military law in not leading his regiment forward, and preventing the enemy from sacking and burning the town of New London, on the 6th day of September, A. D. 1781. From this charge he was acquitted with honor.

Nathan Gallup, Esq., Lieutenant-Colonel of the 8th¹ regiment, came prisoner before the court, when the following charge was exhibited against him, viz: That whereas, on the 6th day of September, A. D. 1781, (the

¹ The 3d Regiment of Connecticut Militia included all men liable to duty in the towns of New London and Lyme. The 8th those of Groton, Stonington, and Preston. — A.

day on which the garrison and fortress standing in said Groton was attacked and stormed by a detachment of the British army; the inhabitants of said Groton massacred; their houses burnt and their property plundered;) that he then holding and sustaining the aforesaid office and a commission thereto in said regiment, was shamefully negligent in his military duty, and guilty of acting a cowardly part when called to and in actual service.

1st. In not supporting the garrison in said fort with succour, which was in his power, and by him had been specially engaged to the commandant for his encouragement in defending it, and in making no diversion upon the enemy before the storm in favor of the garrison.

2dly. In suffering the militia to remain strolling and unembodied upon the hills, in fair view of the enemy when they were marching up to attack the fort.

3dly. In not falling upon and attacking the enemy at the favorable moment of their re-embarkation, which movement of the enemy was said to be well known to him.

4thly. In not attempting to prevent the burning of houses and other buildings of the inhabitants in Groton, done by scattering parties of the enemy.

5thly. In not preventing the wanton plundering of property belonging to the inhabitants, done by the militia and others in the houses which escaped the conflagration, and elsewhere in said town after the storm of said garrison and the burning done by the enemy.

And 6thly. In not preserving the public stores in the fort after the evacuation by the enemy, but suffering them to be embezzled and plundered; all contrary

to the rules and regulations for preserving order and good government among the militia of said state, and unbecoming an officer.

Sentence. — The court, upon due consideration of the whole matter before them, are unanimously of opinion that Lieutenant-Colonel Nathan Gallup is not guilty of neglect of duty or of cowardly behaviour, as charged against him. He, therefore, by the Court is acquitted with honor.

Captain John Morgan of the 8th regiment, was adjudged guilty of neglect of duty and unofficer like behaviour, and sentenced to be suspended during the present war with Great Britain.

Captain Ebenezer Witter, of the 8th regiment, was charged with being concerned in plundering public property at Fort Griswold. The court found him not guilty of plundering, but that he acted a very imprudent part in ordering the gun carried to his house, and the court ordered him to return the said gun to the commanding officer at Fort Griswold.

Captain Thomas Wheeler and Lieutenant John Williams, of the 8th regiment, were charged with plundering in a wanton and shameful manner the goods of the inhabitants of Groton on the day of the battle.

The court found them guilty, and sentenced them to be cashiered, and be disabled in future from holding or sustaining any military commission in this state, and that they pay the expenses of their trial in equal parts.

Daniel Latimer, Ensign of a company of militia in

the 3d regiment, was charged with being negligent of his duty in not seasonably forwarding intelligence to his colonel of the expected approach and attack of the enemy. He was found not guilty, and was therefore acquitted.

Zabdiel Rogers, Esq., Colonel of the 20th regiment,¹ was called upon to answer to the charge of remaining inactive upon the 6th day of September. The sentence was not guilty, and acquitted with honor.

Joseph Harris,² Jun., Esq., Lieutenant-Colonel of the 3d regiment, came prisoner before the Court, when the following charges were exhibited against him: That on the day when the British burned the town he was shamefully negligent in his military duty, and guilty of acting a cowardly part.

1st. In not notifying his chief colonel of the enemy's approach.

2d. In not opposing their entrance into the town.

3d. In not supporting a part of said regiment when in battle at the north part of the town, which he was requested to, but shamefully refused to do.

4th. In allowing the militia to remain strolling and unembodied upon the hill in sight of the enemy. And

¹ The 20th regiment was from Norwich. — A.

² Lieutenant-Colonel Harris resided on the Town Hill road, nearly opposite Fort Nonsense. He is alluded to by John Hempsted and Jonathan Brooks in their narratives in not very complimentary terms. He appears to have been the only regimental officer of the 3d who resided in the immediate vicinity of hostilities that day. In the *Connecticut Gazette* of May 2d, 1783, he replied to the finding of the Court, and excused himself from the charge, taking up each specification in its order, and commenting at length upon it. Some of the arguments brought forward by him in support of his innocence are more ingenious than logical; and, as viewed at this late day, his conclusions are strained and far drawn. — H.

5thly. In not falling upon and attacking the enemy on their retreat.

The court unanimously gave it as their opinion that Lieutenant-Colonel Harris has been and is a worthy member of society, and a good citizen in private life, *but not* suitably qualified for military service; that he was not guilty of any neglect of duty on said 6th of September from enmity or disaffection to the independence of the American states; but the Court are unanimously of opinion that he was and is guilty of the matter charged against him in the four first articles of charge, and also are of opinion that he is guilty in the fifth, and that the whole are proved and supported against him; therefore the Court gives sentence against the said Harris, that he be cashiered as being a person unsuitable to sustain the aforesaid office.

Warham Williams was found guilty of taking and holding three guns, and was remanded to the civil authority to be dealt with.

Benajah Leffingwell, Major of the 20th regiment, was charged with neglect of duty on the day of battle, from which charge he was acquitted.

The findings of the Court are approved by the Captain-General, and by his command are made public.

Signed, HEZEKIAH BISSEL,
Judge Advocate of said Court-Martial.



FROM
THE CONNECTICUT ARCHIVES.

Records of the Council of Safety.

AT a meeting of the Governor and Council of Safety
at Lebanon, Wednesday, 14th November, 1781,

* * * * *

A motion by a letter from the selectmen, requesting leave to deliver a number of articles lately sent to Roswell Saltonstall from N. York, as a relief under his sufferings &c., which have been detained by said selectmen, agreeable to a resolve of the Council 18 Sept. 1781, taken into consideration, — and passed the following vote and resolve, viz :

Whereas sundry persons in N. York have charitably given to Mr. Roswell Saltonstall of N. London several articles of household goods and clothing for the use of his family towards repairing in a small degree the very heavy loss he sustained in the burning of his house, all his goods &c.¹ by the enemy in their late incursion and outrage at New London and Groton, and the said Mr. Saltonstall being, as it is said, of dubious character with respect to his political principles, and not having taken the oath of fidelity to this State, the said articles are taken and detained by the selectmen of New London agreeable to a resolve of this board 18 Sept. last, and by said selectmen reported and earnestly rec-

¹ From report of *Connecticut Gazette* of buildings burned, we learn he lost on Main Street a house and cooper shop on Beach Street, distill house and store, and opposite thereto a store and a cooper shop improved as a store. — A.

ommended in their own and the name of the late prisoners taken at said towns, to be given and delivered to said Saltonstall according to the intent of the donors: This Board, taking the matters aforesaid into consideration and by the examination of a number of witnesses cited by the state attorney for the county of N. London and lately prisoners taken at said towns &c., do not find that the said Saltonstall has ever done or said anything prejudicial to the cause and interest of these States, and it appears that when he was lately at New York he was exceedingly attentive to the interest of the prisoners taken as aforesaid and confined in prison there, and by solicitations obtained for and furnished them with a variety of necessaries and comforts, without which they must have suffered greatly if not have perished in their confinement; and as it would be hard and almost inhuman to deprive him and his numerous family of that small relief which benevolent charity has drawn from his friends at New York, by the special request of the prisoners and the selectmen of N. London —

This Board are thereupon unanimously of opinion, that the said goods and articles ought to be given and delivered up to the said Saltonstall, to be for his own use and benefit according to the true intent and meaning of the donors, and do hereby permit, authorize, and direct the said selectmen of New London to deliver the same accordingly.

Whereas a number of prisoners lately taken from New London and Groton by the enemy in their incursion there, and carried to New York and confined in the sugar house there, naked and in a suffering condition, who were humanely relieved by the generosity of Mr. Francis Winthrop, a resident in New York, to

the amount of near one hundred pounds, L. mon., and having a mother and sisters at New London,¹ requested Ebenezer Ledyard, Esq., of Groton, a prisoner there, in his return to N. London in a flag, as the only recompence for his generosity aforesaid, to take the charge of a pair of silver cans, silk for gowns for his five sisters, and a few other small articles, as a present to his mother and sisters, and the same deliver them on his return, on which the said Mr. Ledyard and other prisoners informed him they apprehended no difficulty or objection, on which he, the said Mr. Winthrop, presumed to send them forward in said flag under the care of Mr. Ledyard for the purpose aforesaid, all which appears to this board by full and sufficient testimony: And whereas it is represented that Capt. Havens, commander of the privateer brig^a Jay, lying in the harbour of N. London, inspecting said flag in her return has taken said articles into his custody as articles illegally imported, for the purpose of libelling the same for tryal &c.: This Board, considering the great humanity and generosity of the said Mr. Winthrop to the prisoners aforesaid and the special request of said prisoners, and as the said Winthrop was encouraged by them that he might safely send said articles to his friends as aforesaid, merely as a present for their particular and personal use and not for trade, do advise and recommend, under the particular circumstances aforesaid and by no means to dis-

¹ This family resided in the Winthrop house, near which stands the "Old Mill" built in 1650, for Governor Winthrop. Francis was a tory residing in New York, and as such, any of his property was liable to seizure wherever found.

Robert, another brother, who rose to the rank of admiral, being in the English Navy, was proof enough that the occupants were "friends to government" to cause their house to be spared though others quite near were burned.

courage the humanity of our enemies, that said articles be permitted to be delivered to the persons to whom sent, and that the same be not proceeded with for tryal or burdened with any further expence.

At a meeting of the governor & council of safety held at Lebanon the 28th day of March 1782

Upon memorial of Benjamin Woodworth of Norwich shewing that he had two sons wounded in Groton fort on the 6th of Sept. last and that he hath been at great expense &c in nursing &c praying for some relief &c.

Resolved by this Board, That for present relief Capt. Jabez Perkins is hereby ordered to deliver to sd Benj Woodworth out of $\frac{2}{3}$ Tax half a barrel of Pork half a Barrell of Beef & one bbl Rie Flour & also 2 gallons of rum on account with the State which articles are to be delivered in acct with sd Woodworth subject to a future consideration & settlement.

TEST: W^m. WILLIAMS, *Clerk*.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR, VOL. XXII., DOC. 80.

To the Honorable the General Assembly of the State of Connecticut to be convened at Hartford (by adjournment) on the 10th day of January Anno Dom 1782.

The Memorial of the Subscribers Inhabitants of the Town of Groton & Towns adjacent humbly sheweth—

That in the late attack made by the Enemy upon the towns of New London & Groton & the public Fortresses therein, they were induced upon the most humane & disinterested motives, in the moment of an Alarm to enter as Volunteers into Forts Trumbull & Griswold under their late Amiable Comander —

That the Memorialists tho they have (thro the hand of Heaven) hitherto survived the Conflict & Inhuman

Carnage which ensued, yet they have suffered more or less from wounds & Contusions all that Rage & Cruelty could inflict short of Death.

That they cant expect your Honors to fully compensate for all the pains & distresses they have undergone, which cannot be measured, yet in as much as they have made so great a Sacrifice out of regard to their Country & in Defence of the State they humbly beg leave to hope your Honors will stand fully justified in directing an enquiry of the particular Case, Circumstances & Sufferings of each of the Memorialists & thereupon to grant them such Relief as your Honors may think consistent with Justice & Humanity & they as in Duty bound shall pray.

John Morgan third,	Joseph Woodmansfee,
Charles Eldredge Jun ^r ,	John Daboll Jun ^r ,
Daniel Stanton Jun ^r ,	Christopher Latham, J ^r ,
Edward Stanton,	Isaac Morgan,
Park Avery Jun ^r ,	Sam ^l . Edgecomb J ^r ,
Cary Leeds,	Daniel Eldridge 1 st ,
John Starr,	Edward Latham,
Elisha Prior,	Sam ^l . Abraham.

Decb. 1781.

In the Lower Houfe.

On this memorial Samuel Mott and Rufus Lathrop Esqr^s¹ are appointed a Committee to inquire into the Matters set forth therein and similar Cases and what they shall find to report to the General Assembly to be holden in Hartford in May next.

TEST: JEDEDIAH STRONG, *Clerk*,

Concurred in the Upper Houfe.

TEST: GEORGE WYLLYS, *Sec'y*.

¹ Robert Cary was afterward added to the Committee and signed their Report, which follows. Page 131.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR, VOL. XXII., DOC. 337.

*To Col. McClellen, Commandant at the Posts of New
London & Groton.*

We, Inhabitants of N. London, beg leave to represent our fears & apprehensions for the safety of said Posts through the ensuing summer;—from the defenceless state of the Garrisons, &c., and from the growing object of this Town, by the industrious inhabitants erecting a number of Houses & Stores, in order to aid and assist y^e spirited Gentlemen in the country, in fitting & equipping their Privateers, which are now numerous & formidable; Several Prizes are brought in, & great wealth may be soon expected, all which is as likely to provoke the narrow pitiful revenge of our dastardly enemies, to destroy us this summer, as last.

Every year since the commencement of the war, this Town has been alarmed with invasions, the consequences has always been that great numbers of militia are called from their labours & sent in upon us, on so short a notice y^t it was impossible for them to be completely equipped; and have been detained here during a long summer, greatly to their private loss — the public, and the immediate expence of the State, which has been much greater then if we had proper Garrisons & Matrofs Companys stationed here, without answering any real means of defence; and at the same time the inhabitants of the Town are equally sufferers from undisciplined militia. And from the late attack at this Place it was so evident that the militia were not, and could not be here in time to be of any service, that it needs no observation to the contrary.

To remedy which & to secure these Posts we submit it to you as our opinion, that

Fort Griswold should be garrisoned with at least one hundred & fifty good men — that the Fort be provided with 200 small arms & sufficient number of cartridges & as many pikes for use of volunteers, who may be called in as they are many transient persons & such y^t are unable to equip themselves; and that on the firing of the alarm guns, or notice given, it shall be the immediate duty of the neighbouring militia to march into the defence of the s^d Fort on pain of nothing short of suffering the penalty of the Law, & that to be made corporeal, let the delinquent be officer or private; and as soon as the alarm is over to be dismissed.

That there be a Matrofs Company raised sufficient to man what Field Peices we have on N. L. side & those at Norwich, & to be compleatly furnished with horses, &c., and stationed in the Fort on Town Hill; & be provided with some small arms, as many volunteers will run to their assistance in time of alarm. That the militia in the neighbourhood be ordered in as on Groton side. The Garrison at Fort Trumbull may be small, & to quit it on the actual approach of the enemy & to retire to the defence of the field peices or Fort Griswold.

That no vessels on the firing of the alarm guns, that are in the harbour be permitted to be removed, excepting small craft, but by order & direction of the Commandant.

That after y^e alarm, or actual service is over their shall be an enquiry into the conduct of every officer & private & all others ordered on duty, & on failure of duty to be punished according to the nature of the offence, which punishment ought to be corporeal. For

men will not regard fines when their property is at stake. Common rank & file will delight in such a militia law. We observe further it is our opinion, if the late worthy Col. Ledyard (whom we sincerely lament) had only fifty good men in the Fort under his absolute command, he with them might have empress'd & compelled into its defence two or three hundred seamen & others, which had deserted from Privateers & shipping in order to plunder. But instead of this he was as a man without hands, and could get none into the fort only by persuasion. He gave out his positive orders for all seamen to repair over to the Fort. He fired upon the shipping to stop them from running away. But he was neglected with impunity. He was disobey'd because the laws are not adequate for the punishment of disobedience of orders. They ought to be exceedingly severe when called out into action. And if men of Spirit who run to the defence of any post in time of danger are to be unsupported & sacrificed by their neighbours, (who are at liberty to take care of their effects, keep out of danger & not liable to corporeal punishment), who will run the risque in future? Wee make bold to say, had some Gentlemen neglected their duty y^e 6th Spr. last, they would have saved thousands of their property.

If a small cruising boat could be allowed to the Garifon, it might be an encouragement to lifting their men & also obtaining intelligence, the profits to be theirs.

If all or any of the above facts & representations should agree with your observation & opinion, we would request you to lay the same before His Excellency & Council — urging their immediate attention, as a great saving to the State & equal or better security then the

usual mode. Who we make no doubt will do all in their power to fill up the Garrison at Fort Griswold & to forward the best plan of defence, and to use all their influence in the next General Assembly to have such Military Laws passed as will be necessary in alarm & invasions.

We are with esteem & respect,

Sir,

Your most Hum^e Serv^ts,

New London April 22^d 1782.

G. Saltonstall,

Thos. Shaw,

Timo. Green,

John Deshon,

Marvin Wait,

Amasa Larnard,

Pember Calkings,

Edward Hallam,

Wint. Saltonstall,

Michael Melally,

David Mumford,

Guy Richards, Jun^r,

Simon Wolcott,

James Angel,

Col. M^cClellen,

Present.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR, VOL. XXII., DOC. 339.

New London, 1st June, 1782.

Sir:

Since writing the inclosed have seen Col^o M^cClan-
nan, he desires me to inform your Excellency that the
Troops at this Post under his command will now not
make two Relieves, he is distress'd to supply the Forts
and Prison Ship.

I think it my duty to inform your Excellency that
there is a large number of vessels here, & other inter-
est, beside the Alliance Frigate, & scarce any men to
defend the Forts at Groton & this Town, your Excel-

lency will please excuse the freedom I take in giving
such information as [it] respects the publick —

I am with sentiments of Rea[1] Esteem,

Your Excellencys very obed^t Serv^t,

Tho^s Mumford.

Superfcribed,

Publick Service,

His Excellency Governor Trumbull,
Hartford.

Indors^d.

In the Lower House.

Col. Sage, Col. Ruffell & Maj^r Hillhouse appointed
to take into consideration this Letter & Address of fun-
dry Gentlemen of New London to Col. M^cClallen of
the 22^d April ult & laid before the House, both respect-
ing the Defence of the Posts of N. London & Gro-
ton and what ought to be done to report by bill or
otherwise.

TEST: JEDEDIAH STRONG, *Clerk*.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR, VOL. XXII., DOC. 338.

Report of Committee de Fort at New London, May, 1782.

We Your Honours Com^{tee} appointed to take into
consideration the representation made by a number
of Gentlemen from New London, respecting the De-
fence of the Post at N. London, &c., beg leave to re-
port,

That the Governuour and Council of Safety be and
they are desired, to raise a sufficient sum out of y^e pro-
visions on hand (or loan as may be) to pay the 40s.
bounty ordered to the foldiers that may engage in the
forts at N. London & Groton provided by act of Af-

fembly in Jan^y laſt (and that 48 matroſſes be raiſed in addition to the number already ordered by act of Afſembly, and that the ſame pay & bounty be given them as the other before provided for) & that in the mean time His Excellency order ſuch numbers of militia to man the Garrison untill a ſuitable number may be enliſted, and that 200 Arms be provided & ſent to the care of the commander at that Poſt for the uſe of the ſame.

All which is ſubmitted by your Hum^e Serv^{ts},

Comfort Sage, } c^{ee}
Edw^d Ruffel, }

In the Lower Houſe.

The foregoing Report of Committee is accepted and approved, ſo far as to include the word *laſt* in the 12th line of the Report from the top, with addition (viz.,) “provided ſaid ſoldiers do not live within fix miles from ſ^d Forts,” next after the word *laſt* aforeſaid. And that a Bill, &c.

TEST: INCREASE MOSELEY, *Clerk*, P. T.

Concurr'd in the Upper Houſe.

TEST: GEORGE WYLLYS, *Secret*.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR, VOL. XXVII., DOC. 76.

To the Honorable General Aſſembly of the State of Connecticut to be holden at Hartford by ſpecial order of the Governor the 2^d Wednesday of January A. D. 1783. We, your Hon. Committee appointed at your ſeſſion in October laſt to inquire into the diſabilitys of thoſe perſons who were wounded in the attack of the Enemy at New London and Groton in Sept. A. D. 1781 and remain in a crippled and debili-

tated condition and to state their particular cases to the assembly, beg leave to Report that we have attended on the said business and the cases of the said wounded & debilitated to be as follows: viz. —

Ensⁿ CHARLES ELDRIDGE of the militia, who entered the fort a volunteer, was wounded with a musket ball through the joint of the knee and although after long confinement the wound is closed up, yet the knee is intirely stiff, and as many pieces of the bone have discharged from the substance of the joint, the limb is rendered very weak, and will doubtless ever remain so.

JOHN MORGAN 3^d, a volunteer, wounded in the fort with a musket ball near the joint of the knee, by means of which his knee is rendered intirely stiff and he much disabled in walking and the like exercises.

JOHN STARR a volunteer wounded in the fort by a musket ball through the joint of the elbow of his right arm, whereby he has been from that to the present time, exercised with great pain and has lost the use of his arm by its being rendered intirely stiff. Ulcers continue forming &c to this time, and pieces of bone issuing out of the sores. he is a man in low circumstances though of good character, has a wife & children which before he supported by his industry and which he is now rendered wholly incapable of doing.

Ens JOSEPH WOODMANSEE a volunteer wounded in the fort by a musket ball, which intirely Extirpated his right Eye and the upper part of the right cheek and the ball passed under the shoulder blade which has considerably weakened his shoulder.

Capt SOLOMAN PERKINS a volunteer wounded in the fort with a musket ball through the neck and arm another through his side, and sundry thrusts of the bayonet through the Stomach &c which has caused ner-

vous irritations spafams &c and rendered him unable to perform hard labour.

ANDREW GALLUP a foldier belonging to the garrison wounded with a musket ball through the hip & groin wounding the main tendon of the thigh whereby he is much difabled in walking & like exercifes.

Lieu^t PARK AVERY a volunteer wounded in the fort by a bayonet taking off part of the cranium and totally extirpating his right eye.

Serg^t DANIEL ELDRIDGE a volunteer wounded in the fort with a musket ball in the arm which entered between the wrift & elbow and paffing nearly parallel with the bone, came out between the elbow & the fhoulder whereby his arm is weakened.

ZIBE WOODWORTH a foldier of the garrison wounded in the fort by a musket ball with the whole charge & wadds which went through his thigh & fractured the bone in fuch manner that a great part of the bone has, in pieces iflued out, has much weakened & fhortened the limb and it remains a running fore on both fides until now, and he will doubtleff remain a cripple during his life and in a great meafure unable to perform any labour.

STEPHEN HEMPSTEAD a Searg^t of the garrison of Fort Trumbull was wounded at Fort Griswold with a ball through the joint of the left elbow and a bayonet in his right hip. The wound in his hip is recovered with no other difadvantage than a weaknefs and partial difability in that part which in a great degree prevents the ability of traveling. The wound in the elbow was more dangerous and has occafioned an entire ftiffnefs in the joint whereby he is rendered incapable of bringing his hand near his head or performing any confiderable labour to advantage.

EDWARD STANTON of Stonington a volunteer wounded in the fort by a musket ball & whole charge which entered at the pap of the left breast and passed in an oblique direction so that it broke three of his ribs the fractured ends of which were sawed off and never could be joined to the parts from which they were separated and although the wound is healed up Yet there still remains a weakness and tenderness which renders him in a considerable degree unable to perform hard labour.

JEHIEL JUDD of Colchester a corporal in the company of artillery in fort Griswold was wounded by a musket ball which entered into the lower part of the knee joint where it lay 30 days before it could be extracted a great part of the flesh about the knee and half way up the thigh became affected and the fore large & distressing. The limb is shortened and the sinews much contracted and the joint intirely stiff. Much of the bone of the substance of the joint issued out, but the fore is at length healed up, though he still remains a cripple and not likely to be otherwise.

SANFORD WILLIAMS a foldier of the garrison wounded in the fort by a musket ball, which entered the upper and about the middle of his breast passed through the right lob of the lights and came out back of the arm where it joins the body. The wounds are healed up but a fore is broke out under the arm, near where the ball came out, which yet remains and he is unable to perform any considerable hard labour.

Which is humbly submitted by Your

Hon Obd^t Humb^t Servants

Sam ^t Mott,	}	<i>Committee.</i>
Elisba Lathrop,		
Rob ^t Crary,		

Alfo WILLIAM SEYMOUR of Hartford a volunteer in the fort was wounded by a musket ball which entered into and passed through the joint of the knee fracturing & breaking the bones in such manner as that the greatest part of the substance of the knee joint separated and issued out. In this condition he, for about three weeks, suffered the most severe pain & distress, when no other means could be thought of to save his life, amputation was performed & his limb taken off about halfway between the knee & body and after a long, languishing confinement he is restored to a considerable degree of health, though wholly disabled from performing any considerable exercises or following any considerable business.

Which is humbly submitted by,

Elifha Lathrop }
Sam^l Mott, } *Committee.*

The men mentioned in the above report were granted pensions varying from £3 to £20 per annum.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR, VOL. XXVII., DOC. 78.

To the Honorable Gen^l. Assembly now sitting at Hartford. May session 1783.

We the subscribers being by the Hon. Gen^l. Assembly in October last appointed a committee to enquire into the Disability of those persons who were wounded by the enemy at New London & Groton in Sept. 1781 & to state their particular cases to the Gen^l. Assembly did attend to that business and made our report of a number of those wounded & disabled to the Gen^l. Assembly in January last which report was accepted and an order passed thereon together with directions that we should proceed further to examine and state the cases

of any such wounded & crippled who might have been omitted in the first report, we therefore beg leave farther to report that

DANIEL STANTON Jun^r. of Stonington hearing the firing at New London and concluding it to be attacked by the enemy mounted his horse & rode full speed eleven miles to fort Griswold & entered & made himself a volunteer in defence of the fort. In the action he received twenty one wounds in the head, body, & limbs with ball & bayonet of all which he is fully recovered except one where a musket ball entered between the ancle bone & the heel of the foot came out near the ball of the foot at the root of the great toe, disabled & contracted the main cord of the heel and other cords & tendons on the inside of the foot which has drop'd the great toe and draw'd it under the foot by which means he is disabled from travelling or any active business of that kind. And we further beg leave to report it as our opinion that according to the rules adopted by the assembly in the case of the other cripples, he ought to receive from the public, during the continuance of his disability the sum of six pounds a year as an annual stipend the same to commence from the time of his receiving his wound. All which is submitted to Your Hon^r. by

Your most obedient & very humble servants

Sam^l. Mott, }
Rob^t. Crary, } *Committee.*

In the Lower House.

The foregoing report of committee is accepted & approved & a bill in form ordered to be brought in accordingly.

TEST : INCREASE MOSELEY, *Clerk.*

Concur^d. in the Upper House.

TEST : GEORGE WYLLYS, *Secty.*

REVOLUTIONARY WAR, VOL. XXVI., DOC. 288, 294, 295.

MARY ALLEN, widow of Captain Samuel Allen,¹ was left with six children under the age of twenty-one, and a small real and personal estate.

LUCY WHITTLESEY, widow of John Whittlesey, New London, tailor, was left with one child about three years old, no estate, and no friends to help her.

* * BOLTON, widow of William, of New London, was left with seven children under the age of sixteen years, and no estate.

ESTHER CHAPMAN, widow of Lieutenant Richard Chapman, of New London, was left with five children under the age of twenty-one years; had real and personal estate to the amount of about £300.

THEODA WILLIAMS, widow of Captain John Williams, Jr., was left with eight children under y^e age of seventeen years, and about £70 real and personal estate.

SARAH STEDMAN, widow of John Stedman, weaver, was left with seven children under the age of thirteen years; no estate; maintained his family by his hands.

PRUDENCE AVERY, widow of Captain Elijah Avery, was left with three children under the age of sixteen years; had a good landed estate; personal estate suffered by the enemy.

* * COMSTOCK, widow of James, of New London, a woman about sixty years old, and no estate; he always repaired to the fort in every alarm.

MARGARET PERKINS, widow of Luke Perkins, was left with one child and no estate.²

¹ Allyn.

² This, I think, must be Luke Perkins, Jr., as I find on the Probate Records Abigail Perkins, administratrix on estate of Luke Perkins; estate valued, £302.

SARAH WALWORTH, widow of Sylvester Walworth, weaver, was left with eight children under the age of twenty-one years; had a small real estate; no personal estate more than to pay the debts.

ANNA BABCOCK, widow of John Prentice Babcock, clothier, was left with two small children and a small real estate, not much more than to pay the debt.

ANNA LEDYARD, widow of Colonel William Ledyard, was left with five children under the age of twenty-one; has a considerable estate, chiefly in public securities.

BRIDGET LEDYARD, widow of Le^t Young^s Ledyard, was left with four children under the age of nine years; no estate, but a small house lot; the house burnt, and what was in it.

ELIZABETH MUCKSLEY, widow of Joseph Mucksley;¹ was a house carpenter; was killed 6th September, &c. &c.; was left with four children under the age of twenty-one; had no real estate nor any personal estate; she has had much sickness, &c.

DEBORAH LEWIS, widow of Joseph Lewis; was killed 6th September; was left with a small real estate; was a blacksmith, had eight children under the age of nineteen, and chiefly depended on his trade for support.

SARAH BURROWS, widow of Captain Hubbard Burrows,² was left with ten children under the age of seventeen; he had a small estate represented insolvent, and but little could be set out to the widow.

MARY BAKER, widow of Andrew Baker, a shoemaker, was left with one young child and no estate.

¹ Moxley.

² This name is Hobart Burrows on the Probate Records.

SARAH WOODBRIDGE, widow of Christopher Woodbridge, house-carpenter, was left with two small children and no estate.

ELIZABETH SEBERY, widow of David Sebery, ship-carpenter, was left with five children under the age of twenty-one; no estate; the house she lived in burnt, and everything except what they had on.

DEBORAH AVERY, widow of Daniel Avery, was left with eight children under the age of fourteen years; has about £600 of real and personal estate, with an incumbrance of about 50s a year for a widow's third.

MARY COVELL, widow of Philip Covell, about fifty years of age, and about £40 of estate.

MARCY WILLIAMS, of Stonington, widow of Thomas Williams, is a woman in her sixty-third year; the estate insolvent, so that she receives little or no benefit from it.

ELIZABETH BALEY, widow of Ezekiel Baley, blacksmith, was left with six children under the age of twenty-one years; suppose there will be about £100 when the debts are paid of real and personal estate.

THANKFUL STANTON, widow of Captain Amos Stanton, was left with seven children under the age of twelve years, and the estate left is about £200 in soldiers' notes and state securities.

ELIZABETH CLARK, of New London, widow of John Clark, cooper, was left with four children under eight years, and no estate.

MARTHA HOLT, widow of John Holt, Jr. of New London, ship joiner, was left with three children under the age of ten years; not more estate than to pay the debts.

MARY BILLINGS, widow of Samuel Billings, shoemaker, was left about fifty years old; left with fifteen

or sixteen acres of poor land with a small house upon it, and no other estate.

REBECCA MINER, widow of Thomas Miner, ship-carpenter, &c., was left with three small children and a small personal estate and in debt.

ESTHER Hill, widow of Samuel Hill, was left with five children under the age of twelve years; had no estate; was supplied by his labor.

HANNAH MILLS, widow of Edward Mills, was left with five children under the age of nine years and no estate.

UNICE WILLIAMS, widow of Lieutenant Henry Williams, Jr., left with three children under eight years; a small matter of personal estate.

ELIZABETH PERKINS, widow of Asa Perkins, was left with four children under the age of seven years; her husband left a house and fifty acres of land; no movable estate left more than to pay the debts.

ELIZABETH ADAMS, widow of Nathaniel Adams, a cloather, was left with five children under the age of eleven years; a small house and a small piece of rocky land under no improvement nor worth improving; lived wholly by his trade.

HANNAH HALLABARD, widow of Rufus Hallebard,¹ was left with eight children under the age of fourteen years. Left real estate; rents for £16 a year, half of which to his mother-in-law during life, and the estate in debt about £70 more than the personal estate will pay.

DORITHY LESTER, widow of Jon^{thn} Lester,² left with one child fourteen years old and considerable personal estate.

¹ Rufus Hurlbut.

² Probably John Lester.

NICHOLAS STARR was killed in Fort Griswold; his widow¹ died soon after with a fever, and left four children, the oldest about eight years, the youngest about two, and about estate enough to pay his debts.

PHEBE AVERY, widow of Lieutenant Ebenezer Avery, was left with six children under the age of twenty-one years; he left a large real estate and some personal estate under the incumbrance of an aged woman's support with some other incumbrances to a considerable amount, also a debt of about £70.

SUSSANNAH SHOLES, widow of Nathan Sholes, was left with two small children and no estate.

JURUSHA LEEDS, widow of Captain Cary Leeds, was left with six children under eight years, and no estate. Captain Leeds was wounded in the fort, of which he never recovered of, took cold and flung him into a fever of which he died.

ESTHER JONES, widow of Moses Jones, was left with two small children, and no estate.

ABIGAIL PALMER, widow of David Palmer, was left with two small children; a large real estate under a life lease to her father-in-law and no personal estate.

WAITY STANTON, widow of Lieutenant Enoch Stanton, of Stonington, was left with seven children under the age of fifteen years; one quarter of an acre of land with a dwelling house, no personal estate more than enough to pay the debts; a goldsmith and depended upon his trade to support his family.

All the widows and families that are not described to be of any town belong to the town of Groton.

¹ Hannah Starr, from Probate Records.

All of which doings is submitted to your honors by
your most obedient

Humble servants

Ch. Phelps,
James Gordon, } *Committee.*

GROTON, *Aug.* 25, 1783.

I have collected the following list of widows and
children not mentioned in the above report:¹ —

CATHARINE (MUMFORD) RICHARDS, widow of Captain
Peter Richards, and one child Catharine.

ELIZABETH MOORE, widow of Captain Nathan Moore.

ESTHER ALLYN, widow of Captain Simeon Allyn.

MICHAEL WOODBRIDGE, widow of Henry Wood-
bridge, left with two small children, David and Han-
nah.

LYDIA (LORD) AVERY, widow of David Avery.

MARY (HARRIS) SHAPLEY, widow of Adam Shapley,
left with four children: Mary, Joseph, Abigail, and
Benjamin. The eldest, Daniel, died on the prison
ship in New York in November.

ELIZABETH AVERY, widow of Jasper Avery.

EXPERIENCE WARD, widow of Patrick Ward.

ABIGAIL PERKINS, widow of Luke Perkins.

SARAH PERKINS, widow of Elisha Perkins.

¹ The official report only includes minor or dependent children. Many
of these families had children over twenty-one, or married. — A.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR, VOL. XXIV., DOC. 389.

Upon ye memorial of Dan^l Judd of Colchester shewing to this assembly that his son Jehial Judd was an enlisted soldier in the State Service in Fort Griswold on y^e 6th Day of Sept 1781, when & where he was grievously wounded & that by y^e advice of Doc^t Turner he removed his s^d son to his own house where he boarded & nursed his s^d son until & after y^e first of April 1782: that y^e Committee of Pay-table liquidated & settled his acc^s until s^d first of April 1782 & no longer having no orders to settle any accounts that have arisen since that time by reason of wounds rec^d in s^d action, that since s^d first of April 1782 he has been at expense in boarding nursing, and tending s^d son & for s^d Doc^t bill ye sum of £8-15 s.-0, Lawful money as s^d acct produced for which he has recd no reward Praying relief &c: As s^d memorial on file

Resolved by this Assembly that ye com^{tee} of Paytable be (& they are hereby) ordered to receive liquidate & settle s^d acc^t in y^e same manner as y^e acc^t. before s^d first of April 1782 was settled & draw order on y^e Treas^r for y^e same

Passed in the Lower House

(May 1783.)

TEST: INCREASE MOSELEY, *Clk.*

Concur^d in the Upper House

TEST: GEORGE WYLLYS, *Sect.*

REVOLUTIONARY WAR, VOL. XXIV., DOC. 143.

To the Hon. Gen^l Assembly, State of Connecticut, now sitting at Hartford within said state.

October Session, 1782.

The Memorial of the officers & men of the two companies station^d at Forts Trumbull and Grifwold, humbly sheweth —

That agreeable to their engagements they served for the year 1781. That many of them had before that term had done duty at s^d Forts: That their pay had been made in Pay Table orders & State Connecticut bills, which fell very short of real money. Though they speak good money, yet they carry not equal credit with the people of the country: for they neither will make paym^t of debts due from your memorialists, or procure the necessaries of life unless put off at much less value than they express. The above observations, Hope may not be construed as any dishonorable reflection upon Government, as we sincerely & feelingly lament their falling so far short of the first intended worth, and would only suggest that when a disease is known, exertions ought to be made to apply a suitable remedy, and speedy. Your Memorialists beg that for their services year 1781 your Hon^s would be pleased to Devise and Direct a mode of pay that may be equal to real money, that their expectations may be answered and made equal to their engagements. Your Memorialists would further say that motives, from great loss on their part, the distressed situation of many who have served with us now labouring under great debilitation of body by sickness wounds &c together with distressed circumstances of the widows & children of those who fell a sacrifice to British cruelty on the fatal 6th day of

September 1781 stimulates to beg the early attention of your Honors to the matter of our prayer

Your resolves of May 1781 relative to the Horfe-neck Guard conceive, applies to your Memorialists, which gave the same pay & rations with the Continental Army, which we wish to have complied with. And will only say that were your Hon^s fully acquainted with the distresses of many above refer^d occasion'd by the horrid massacre of the garrison of Fort Griswold 'Twould most assuredly excite the highest commiseration & cause to decree (if nothing more) that they have their just due from the public, & that without loss. Submitting the whole to the wise determination of your Honors your Memorialists as in duty bound shall ever pray

William Latham^r Captain

Jabez Stow, Lieu^t

Obad^h Perkins, Lieu^t

in Behalf of said Officers & Men

Col Samuel M'Claning commander of the post & fortrefs at New London, in behalf of himself & other officers & soldiers serving at s^d post under his command not immediately included in the foregoing memorial, pray the Hon. General Assembly to take into consideration their case, Requesting their wages for their services at s^d post of New London & Groton then the same reward for their services as prayd for in the foregoing memorial or in some other way grant them relief as your Hon^{rs} in your wisdom shall judge just & reasonable Dated at Hartford the 15th day of January A. D. 1783

Sam^l M'Clellan

for himself & the regiment concerned

In the Lower House

Col. Throop, Col. St. John, & M^r Pettibone are appointed a Committee to take the within Mem^l into Consideration make Enquiry what has been done in favor of the Memorialists & what is necessary further to be done & report make by bill or otherwise

TEST: S. M. MITCHELL, *Clerk.*

Concurr^d in the Upper House

TEST: GEORGE WYLLYS, *Secty.*

REVOLUTIONARY WAR, VOL. XXII., DOC. 198.

We your Honors Committee, appointed to take into Consideration the mem^l of Adam Shapel(e)y and William Latham in behalf of themselves and the rest of the Surviving officers and Soldiers belonging to the Garrisons of Fort Trumbull & Fort Grisworld, having enquired into the Matter therein Represented, beg leave to report, that we find that Cap^t Adam Shaply was dangerously wounded but not Captivated, that Cap^t William Latham, Lieu^t Jabez Stow, Jonathan Minor, Jeremiah Harding, Josiah Smith, Isaac Rowley, Reuben Bushnell, Levi Dart & ——— Kilburn were wounded & carryed Prisoners to New York and were Plundered of their Cloaths, Buckels &c that Lieu^t Stow was Robed of about Seven pounds in hard Money, that he afterwards Borrowed of Some Friends in New York about forty Dollars, with which he provided Some Small Cloathing for himself & the other prisoners, and to procure a Subsistance for them, and one Dollar he gave to Each private Soldier, to Support them on their way home from New Jerfey where they were Landed on their Exchange, & that during

their Captivity, they Endured great Hardship, whereupon we beg leave to Submitted it to Your Honors as our Opinion that Liu^t Stow ought to be paid the Said Sum of forty Dollars and also £6—0—0 for the money that was plundered from him and that the Committee of Pay Table Ought to be Impowered to Settle and adjust their Accounts for the Loff of Cloathing, Side-arms &c as they have done in Similar Cafes; and as an acknowledgement of their Bravery and Sufferings, a Gratuity of an Honorary Medal of Silver plate ought to be presented to the said Cap^t. Shaply, Cap^t. Latham, and Liu^t Stow by this State, Each of the Bigneff or size of two Inch and a half Square or Equaled in any other figure with Sutable Emblems Engraved thereon, and that a like medal of half that bigneff with the Emblem of a Fort Engraved thereon, be presented to Each of the private Soldiers aforefaid, the whole Expençe of said Medals to be paid out of the avails of Confiscated Eftates, as soon as the Treafurey fhall be Supplied with Money arising out of said Eftates, & that the Same be procured by the Governor & his Council of Safty.

all which is Submitted by your Honors Hum^l Se^t,

Jn ^o Canfield	} Com ^{tee}
Joseph P. Cooke	
Hez ^h Hubbell	

In the Lower Houfe

the foregoing Report accepted & approved fo far as it relates to the payment of forty Dollars borrowed by & twenty Dollars plundered of Lieu^t Stow & y^e adjustment of the Acc^{ts} of Loffes of Cloathing &c by the Com^{tee} of pay Table & that a Bill in form be bro't in thereon &c

TEST: S. M. MITCHELL, *Clerk P. T.*

Concur^d in the Upper House

TEST: GEORGE WYLLYS, *Sect.*

Report of Com^{tee} on Mem^l of Cap^t Shapley Jan. 1782.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR, VOL. XXV., DOC. 191.

HARTFORD, *Feb'y 6th*, 1782.

This may certify that Horatio Wales went into Fort
Grifworld as a volunteer on the 6th day of Sept. 1781,
and was in the fort when it was taken by the Enemy.

W^m. LATHAM *Capt Artily.*

HARTFORD *February 20th*, 1782.

Rec^d. an order on Treafurer for six pounds three
shillings on the $\frac{2}{3}$. Tax in full of the above Acco^t.¹

HORATIO WALES.

The above acco^t. fworn to.

Certified.

FINN WADSWORTH *Com^{dt}*.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR, VOL. XXV., DOC. 214.

State of Connecticut to Simon Wolcott, Dr.

To Vifiting, Attend^{ce} & Dreffing Adam Shap-
ley Efq. from Sept. 8, 1781 to Nov. 1st — 53

Days @ 6 ^s pr Day	£15. 18. 0
To Ditto for D ^o . from Nov. 1 st to Feb ^y . 15 th .	
1782, One Hundred & Seven Days @ 4 ^s	21. 8. 0
To Sundry Medicines for D ^o	10. 0

NEW LONDON, 24th *Feb'y*. 1782

£37. 16. 0

Errors Excepted,

SIMON WOLCOTT.

¹ This was a claim for goods and wearing apparel stripped from him
by the enemy and was allowed by a committee. — A.

State of Connecticut to Simon Wolcott, Dr.

To Visiting, Attend^{ing} & Dreffing Elijah
Richards who was wounded at New Lon-
don Sept. 6th 1781 Twelve Days from Sept.

8th @ 5^s £3. 0. 0

NEW LONDON, 24th Feb. 1782

37. 16. 0

Errors Excepted,

SIMON WOLCOTT.

£40. 16. 0¹

Endorfed as follows :

I vifited & Dreffed Cap^t. Shapley Twice pr Day
about half the time included in the within Acc^t.

SIMON WOLCOTT.

Rec'v'd Hartford March 4th 1782 of Pay Table
Com^{tee}. their order on Treas^r. for Forty Pounds Six-
teen Shillings Lawfull Money out of the Tax of $\frac{2}{6}$ on
the Pound in full of the within Account.

SIMON WOLCOTT,

REVOLUTIONARY WAR, VOL. XXIV., DOC. 380.

*To the Hon^{ble}. General Assembly of the state of Con-
necticut now setting at Hartford.*

The memorial of John Deshon of New London
fheweth that your memorialist had in his poffeffion a
quantity of gun powder on the 6th of Sept 1781 & while
the Enemie were landed on New London fide Col.
Will^m. Ledyard aplyed to Mr. John Holt who was then
ftorekeeper to your honors memorialist, for the said

¹ Equal to \$136. — A.

powder for the defence of Fort Griswold, whereupon the said Mr. Holt delivered the powder & went with the same to the said Fort and was there slain —

Your Honors memorialist has aplyed to Col. McClanan for the said powder or an equal quantity, which he refuses to do unless an order from his Excellency the Governor or this assembly is produced, your memorialist prays your Honors to give orders for the payment for the rd powder or in some other way to grant relief as your Hon^s. in your wisdom shall Judge fit & your Petitioner as in duty bound shall ever pray

DATE HARTFORD, *May* 14, 1783.

JOHN DESHON.¹

APPROPRIATIONS

TO THE NEW LONDON AND GROTON SUFFERERS, ALSO INCLUDING VARIOUS OTHER TOWNS OF CONNECTICUT.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY, May Session. A. D. 1792.

EXTRACT FROM VOL. IV., STATE RECORDS.

Resolved, by this Assembly, That there be and there hereby is, released & quit claimed to the sufferers hereafter named, or their legal representatives where they are dead and to their heirs and assigns forever Five hundred thousand acres of the lands belonging to this State, lying west of the State of Pennsylvania and bounded northerly on the shore of Lake Erie to be divided to and among the said sufferers and their legal representatives where they are dead in proportion to the several sums annexed to their names as follows : —

¹ He was granted 900 lbs. powder, out of State stores. — A.

(Here follow the names of the sufferers at Greenwich, Norwalk, Fairfield, Danbury, New Haven, and East Haven, New London, Groton, and Ridgefield.)

LOSSES OF NEW LONDON SUFFERERS BY THE RAV-
AGES OF THE BRITISH ARMY.

	£	s.	d.
Phillip Allen	9	15	5½
James Angell	169	2	2
John Barr	71	11	4
Stephen Babcock	34	9	1½
John Barna	84	6	7½
Nathan Bailey	20	3	10½
Lydia Beebe	24	5	0
Abigail Bell	6	11	9
Joanna Beebe	236	2	6
Hannah Beebe	6	18	9
Walter Beebe	9	8	9
Elizabeth Beebe	16	6	0
Samuel Belden	1,771	15	6
Percy Been	6	17	2
William Brooks	65	11	6½
Samuel Brown	493	7	8
Jeremiah Brown	124	9	5½
Hannah Bolton	32	1	10½
Thomas Bowhay	49	17	1
Ann Bulkley	493	14	11¼
David Byrne	336	4	7
Richard Chapman	73	1	6½
Ludwick Champlin	11	9	10
Joseph Champlin	72	11	9
Isaac Champlin	142	3	2
John Champlin	104	8	5

John Clark & Sons	135	6	5
John Critchett	6	6	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Elizabeth Christophers	49	4	6
Joseph Coit	1,298	18	5
William Coit	44	17	10
Thomas Coit	23	13	4
Nathaniel Coit, Jr	15	15	10
Joshua Coit	40	0	0
Samuel Coit	19	8	6
Joseph Cocks	1	5	3
William Comstock	3	16	0
Jonathan Colefax	15	11	3
John Crocker	34	13	2
Joseph Collins	41	0	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
John Coster	14	9	0
Cornelius Cunningham	62	14	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
Joanna Culver	10	15	0
Esther Cutler	7	0	0
James Culver	8	9	1
Stephen Culver	3	16	0
Rebecca Church	52	11	10
Joseph Chuls	75	11	6
Sarah Davis	8	0	0
Peter Darrow	10	0	0
Nicholas Darrow	9	12	2
James Darrow	2	3	7
John Deshon	1,177	6	2
Deshon & Co.	556	10	0
Henry Deshon	900	0	2
Joseph Deshon	100	1	0
Richard Deshon	266	19	8
Jonathan Douglass	1,446	14	7
Rich ^d Douglass	262	18	6

Robert Douglass	200	0	0
Ebenezer Douglass	17	9	4
Nathan Douglass	941	11	9
Spe ^r Douglass	8	15	7
Weldon Dorsett	2	0	0
Nathaniel Dickenson	15	1	0
Timothy Durfey	20	14	0
Monsieur Dumont	263	10	8
Clark Elliott	296	11	3
Abigail Elliot	496	13	10
Sarah Edmunds	20	2	6
Jacob Finch	130	8	10
Ann Fosdick & Sons	1,045	10	11
Thomas Gardner	22	2	0
Mary Gardner	123	16	0
David Gardner	11	0	0
Lydia Green	12	16	0
Elizabeth Griffin	5	0	0
Roger Gibson	884	18	6½
George Gibbs	21	7	0
Mathew Griswold	10	0	0
Ebenezer Goddard	7	0	0
John Gordon	1	16	3
Mary Goodfaith	15	0	0
Ruth Harris	63	0	0
Thomas Hancock	148	7	5
Ann Hancock	140	3	6
Joseph Harris, Jr	5	15	0
Walter Harris	17	15	10
Daniel Harris	5	6	0

John Hallam and Benj ⁿ Harris . . .	300	0	0
Nathaniel Hawes	3	5	0
Sarah Hawes	177	7	5
John Hawes, 2 nd	33	1	11
Lydia Hawes	60	3	11
Bridget Hawes	24	19	0
John Hawes, 1 st	0	11	1
Grace Hawes	29	0	0
Eliphalet Hawes	20	12	5
Benj ⁿ Hawes	19	9	5
Edward and John Hallam	310	9	8
Edward and George Hallam . . .	215	0	0
Edward Hallam	10	16	0
John Hallam	417	10	0
John Hartle	44	19	4
James McEvers Haas	600	0	0
Joshua Hempstead	62	15	3
John Hempstead and others . . .	30	18	0
Nath ^l Hempsted	7	1	10
Stephen Hempsted	70	6	1
William Higgins	4	11	0
Russell Hubbard	1,012	0	3
Joseph Hurlburt	965	8	3
Mary Hurlburt	212	13	0
Daniel Hurlburt	126	14	7
Titus Hurlburt	1,961	3	0
Thomas Hopkins	198	17	9
Elizabeth Hollesworth	46	8	0
Stephen Holt	229	5	2
Abigail Holt	18	11	2
Joseph Holt	2	13	0
Thomas Holt	4	18	7
James Holt	25	18	6
Ebenezer Holt	15	5	1

Daniel Holt	32	2	6
Jonathan Holt	35	13	0
John Irwin	800	0	0
Moses Jeffery	36	3	6
Lydia Johnson	21	15	0
Thomas Jones	40	4	10
Robert Kenedy	350	0	0
James Lampheir	233	9	0
James Lamphier, Jr	42	0	7
Lydia Latimer	27	8	6
Pickett Latimer	565	7	8
Samuel Latimer	910	19	5
Samuel Latimer	24	7	6
Rich ^d Latimer	26	19	8
Peter Latimer	317	1	6
Rossmen Lawrence	54	0	0
John Lathrop	1	11	9
Mary Lewis	5	12	0
Christopher Leffingwell	25	0	0
Amos Lester	12	11	9
Ebenezer Lester	8	12	0
John Lester	35	19	7
Edgecomb Lee	48	4	7
Amasa Learned	18	1	0
Mehitabel Leet	124	0	0
Diodate Little	207	5	0
Michael Love	23	0	0
James Mathews	29	19	2
Robert Manwaring	21	8	8

David Manwaring	51	3	0
Lawrence Marting	55	18	6
Jeremiah Miller	2,535	18	10
James Miller	93	8	6
Jabez Miner	7	10	7
Ephraim Minor	348	17	4
Lewis Minor	71	7	4
Anthony Mitchell	23	11	6
John Morris	29	16	0
Isaac Moseley	500	0	0
David Mumford	318	5	9
Giles Mumford	44	0	0
John McCurdy	1,128	0	0
Michael Melally	94	4	7
Temperance Moore	24	3	0
Elizabeth Newcomb	12	0	0
George Newcomb	238	1	9
Mary Newberry	14	5	0
Owen Neill	91	14	6
Widow Nelson	63	10	0
Joseph Owen	75	18	6
Nathaniel Overton	27	9	0
Isaac Oliver	40	7	3
William Packwood	12	6	0
Andrew Palmer	105	10	0
James Parker	21	19	0
Zuriah Preston	21	13	0
James Penniman	137	10	1
Simeon Peck	19	16	0
John Pennaert	223	8	6
John Prentice	3	16	0

Christopher Prince	.	.	.	.	512	4	3
Med Piner	.	.	.	.	48	0	0
James Pittman	.	.	.	.	145	18	4
Peter Perry	.	.	.	.	9	18	0
Richard Potter	.	.	.	.	382	2	3
Abigail Potter	.	.	.	.	573	4	11
John Potter	.	.	.	.	8	14	5
Ichabod Powers	.	.	.	.	620	8	0
Ichabod Powers, Jun	.	.	.	.	188	16	8
Joshua Powers	.	.	.	.	4	17	0
Sarah Pool	.	.	.	.	4	19	0
Eliza Plumb	.	.	.	.	197	19	0
Green Plumb	.	.	.	.	43	19	3
Joseph Plumb	.	.	.	.	24	16	0
Ann Richards	.	.	.	.	224	15	10
Guy Richards & Sons	.	.	.	.	811	8	0
Mary Richards	.	.	.	.	258	17	0
Jabez Richards	.	.	.	.	4	4	0
David Richards	.	.	.	.	1	4	9
Stephen Rougett	.	.	.	.	37	6	1
Samuel Roberts	.	.	.	.	94	6	10
David Roberts	.	.	.	.	17	16	9
Patrick Robinson	.	.	.	.	3	0	0
Peter Robinson	.	.	.	.	81	12	2
Mary Rogers	.	.	.	.	8	13	0
James Rogers	.	.	.	.	455	16	5
Benj. Rogers	.	.	.	.	9	19	1
Solomon Rogers	.	.	.	.	101	4	3
Amos Rogers	.	.	.	.	31	1	8
George Rogers	.	.	.	.	14	14	0
James Rogers	.	.	.	.	1	16	0
Harris Rogers	.	.	.	.	128	13	10
Peter Rogers	.	.	.	.	16	2	4

William Rogers	18	3	0
Peter Rogers Jr	1	12	9
John Rogers	31	8	10
W ^m Rogers	4	19	0
Nath ^l Saltonstall	146	9	6
Gurdon Saltonstall Esq	1,440	0	0
Roswell Saltonstall	1,800	0	0
Winthrop Saltonstall	1,181	16	8
Jon ⁿ and I. Starr	53	2	1
Joshua Starr	1,250	11	8
Lucy Starr	5	9	0
Starr and Tallman	150	0	0
Eliza Shapley	382	5	0
Adam Shapley	20	17	10
Nath ^l and Thomas Shaw	2,834	5	0
William Stark	17	9	0
Seth Sears	13	19	0
John Shepard	76	14	0
James Stewart	13	18	0
Sarah Setchell	56	19	0
John Spencer	58	8	0
Chapman Simmons	22	18	0
James Smith	4	7	0
Thomas Smith	11	0	0
Bathsheba Smith	465	14	0
Robert Smith	24	18	0
William Skinner	15	0	11
Bathsheba Skinner	180	0	0
Lydia Spinek	9	13	0
John Springer	17	19	0
Ann Simmonds	13	18	0
Ann Squire	7	10	0
Joanna Short	276	14	0

Daniel Stole	27	14	0
Judas B. Spooner	21	12	0
Richard Stroud	23	15	0
Bethiah Tallman	63	5	0
Mary Taylor	26	15	10
Daniel Tinker	22	17	6
James Tilley	1,533	10	3
John Tilley	6	12	6
Edward Tinker	25	15	9
James Thompson	350	0	7
John Thompson	59	16	9
Nath ^l Thorp	3	13	0
Daniel Truman	6	0	0
Mary Ward	28	0	0
John Way	590	3	11
Ebenezer Way	15	16	1
John Ward	17	5	4
John Welch	46	10	0
Walter Welch	59	19	0
Eliza Westcott	87	6	0
Laurelia Wolfe	4	16	0
Anthony Wolfe	4	14	0
Simeon Wolcott	1,083	9	1
James Young	13	2	0
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£53,696			9 8

APPROPRIATIONS TO GROTON SUFFERERS.

	£	s.	d.
Amos Avery	12	2	2
Prudence Avery	270	14	8
Thankful Avery	263	18	8
Rufus Avery	132	18	4
Lydia Avery	157	12	1
Latham Avery	103	5	6
Ebenezer Avery	30	0	4
Phebe Avery	2	2	0
Peter Avery	4	13	0
George Avery	8	8	2
Elisha Avery	10	14	5
Hannah Avery	15	6	6
Elizabeth Avery	2	6	0
Benj ⁿ Avery	3	19	0
Caleb Avery	7	0	6
Ezekiel Bailey	2	19	5
James Bailey	2	10	0
Stephen Billings	74	6	7
John Brown	29	5	8
Simeon Chester	8	15	0
Samuel Chester	10	6	6
Eldridge Chester	6	11	0
Jedediah Chester	21	13	2
Benjamin Chester	442	3	0
Benj. Chester, as executor	300	15	0
Charles Chester	0	15	5
Daniel Chester	19	15	6
Jason Chester	20	18	0
Esther Conklin	39	1	6

Nathan Darrow	.	.	.	.	.	9	1	1
Mary Dodge	.	.	.	.	.	14	6	0
Charles Eldridge, Jr	.	.	.	.	.	755	6	7
Daniel Eldridge	.	.	.	.	.	4	14	0
Serg ^t Daniel Eldridge	.	.	.	.	.	1	1	9
Andrew Gallop	.	.	.	.	.	14	8	0
Robert Gallop	.	.	.	.	.	11	6	6
Thomas Griffin	.	.	.	.	.	3	8	0
Jonathan Havens	.	.	.	.	.	11	9	0
John Hicks	.	.	.	.	.	7	8	0
Ruth Holliday	.	.	.	.	.	43	11	3
Edward Jeffery	.	.	.	.	.	158	5	4
Alexander Kidd	.	.	.	.	.	9	5	11
John Latham	.	.	.	.	.	94	18	9
Capt. Edward Latham	.	.	.	.	.	4	8	7
Cap ^t W ^m Latham	.	.	.	.	.	45	2	2
Lydia Latham	.	.	.	.	.	92	4	6
Mary Latham	.	.	.	.	.	4	0	0
Jonathan Latham	.	.	.	.	.	3	4	8
Elizabeth Latham	.	.	.	.	.	15	12	6
W. A. Latham	.	.	.	.	.	36	19	0
Ebenezer Ledyard, Esq	.	.	.	.	.	1,151	3	4
Bridget Ledyard	.	.	.	.	.	397	14	5
Youngs Ledyard & Co.	.	.	.	.	.	75	0	0
Benj. and Caleb Ledyard	.	.	.	.	.	200	0	0
Anne Ledyard	.	.	.	.	.	142	7	10
William Leeds	.	.	.	.	.	360	7	8
Anne Leeds	.	.	.	.	.	57	15	2

Benajah Lester	0	2	7
Thomas D. Lewis	0	13	10
Rebecca Miner	1	6	11
Henry Mason	27	18	0
Prudence Miner	17	19	10
Elizabeth Moore	62	10	9
Nancy Moore	30	10	2
Mary Moore	10	15	6
Frederick Moore	269	2	0
Elisha Morgan	7	13	0
Joshua and Isaac Morgan	4	10	0
Thomas Mumford, Esq	604	16	0
Abigail Palmer	6	19	4
Amos Prentice, Esq	566	1	6
Elisha Prior	34	12	11
Alexander Reed	60	18	1
Thomas Starr	1	1	6
John Starr	0	19	6
Nathaniel Seabury	3	18	0
Elizabeth Seabury	177	11	0
Thankful Stanton	0	8	9
Sarah Stedman	0	14	2
Jacob Sholes	0	9	9
Nathan Sholes	0	15	3
Lucretia Sholes	4	9	0
James Smith	6	2	0
Shoram (negro)	6	9	0
Benj ⁿ Vose	6	8	6

Experience Ward	2	19	5
Samuel Walworth	10	11	6
Eunice Williams	15	9	0
Peter Williams	27	7	6
Daniel Williams	7	13	0
Christopher Woodbridge	1	3	0
Ezekiel Yerrington	2	7	6
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	£7,712	14	10

The total losses as footed on the records are £151, 606 8s. 8d. A gift of nearly three and one third acres for each pound of loss eleven years afterward.

	£	s.	d.
Total of New London	53,696	9	8
Total of Groton	7,712	14	10
	<hr/>		
Total property loss by Arnold's raid, as reported by the committee of the legislature	61,409 4 6		

The actual loss was, no doubt, much greater. At six shillings on the dollar equal to \$204,697.33.

Comparatively few of the New London or Groton sufferers received any benefit from this land. Many of the smaller rights were disposed of to speculators for nominal sums, and all were so far from the then civilized world that much of the land was left unoccupied, until the grantee being dead and the title lost sight of, the land from neglect was finally sold for taxes.

The population of the town of New London in 1782 was 5,688, showing a loss of 200 since the census of 1774. By the census of 1880 the same territory has

15,896: namely, New London, 10,529; Waterford, 2,701, and Montville, 2,666.

Population of Groton in 1782, 3,828, showing a loss of 385 since the census of 1774. By the census of 1880 the same territory had 6,200: namely, Groton, 5,127; Ledyard, 1,073.





GOVERNOR TRUMBULL'S LETTER.

THE massacre of Fort Griswold and the burning of the town of New London were events that gave a new impetus to the patriotic ardor of the sons of Connecticut. Immediately on hearing of the event Governor Trumbull, then in Hartford, sent to New London for a careful and duly authenticated statement of all its material circumstances, in order that he might adopt measures suited in every respect to the emergency.

While thus taking measures to procure full and accurate information of the attack, the Governor hastened to communicate what he had already received to General Washington at headquarters, as shown by the following letter, dated September 15, 1781: —

“Your letter of the 21st ultimo,” he proceeds, “arrived on the 5th instant, whereupon my council being convened, amidst various accounts of the movements and designs of the enemy in New York, and some apprehensions of their hostile attack upon, or invasion of this State, every exertion was made and making for its defence, by ordering the militia to be reviewed, and detachments to be sent to the sea coasts, and valuable effects there deposited to be removed to interior parts, &c.

“But unfortunately, before these preparations could be completed, viz. on the 6th instant, a party under the

command of the infamous Arnold made wanton destruction both of lives and property in New London and Groton near the harbor. Though many material circumstances relative to the tragical scene are not yet obtainable with such a degree of precision and certainty as might be wished, yet, according to the best intelligence I have been able to collect, it seems a number exceeding one and perhaps two thousand, chiefly of chosen British and foreign troops, landed in the morning on both sides of the harbor's mouth, whereof one division immediately marched up to and soon took possession of the town and fortifications of New London which were evacuated on their approach, as being indefensible, whilst on the opposite shore, the fort on Groton Bank, being attacked by six or eight hundred men, was nobly defended for a considerable time by about one hundred and fifty men under the command of Lieut. Colonel William Ledyard, who bravely repulsed the assailants until they suffered about one fourth part in killed and wounded. But being overpowered by superior numbers, Col. Ledyard perceiving the enemy had gained possession of some part of the fort, and opened the gate, although he had only three men killed, thought proper to surrender himself with the garrison prisoners, and accordingly presented his sword to a British officer on the parade, who received the same and immediately thrust it through that brave but unfortunate commander; whereupon the soldiery also pierced his body in many places with bayonets, and proceeded to massacre upwards of seventy of the officers and garrison, until by the interposition of a British officer, who entered the fort too late to rescue the gallant officers, &c. about forty of the defenceless survivors were made prisoners, and carried off, exclu-

sive of about the like number who were wounded and many of them dangerously.

"This heroic opposition on the part of the garrison, however, together with the increasing appearance of the militia, and small skirmishes between some scattering parties and advanced guards, prevented the enemy from fully executing their savage plan, and occasioned them to retreat on board in the evening with precipitation, after having knocked off the trunnions of seven guns and consumed by fire about seventy-one dwelling houses, sixty-five stores, twenty-two barns, a church, court house and jail, together with a number of vessels lying unrigged, by the wharves. The rest of the shipping in the harbor was saved by running up Norwich River, and several valuable buildings on each shore preserved by quenching the flames.

"The loss of property by the conflagration was, however, very great and ruinous to many individuals, as also a sensible damage to the public. Yet, what is more to be regretted is the unhappy fate of that worthy officer, Colonel Ledyard, and those brave men (many of whom sustained respectable characters, and were esteemed the flower of that town) who so gallantly fought and unfortunately fell with him, victims to British cruelty. I have given directions for procuring authenticated information of those transactions, as soon as the situation of the wounded and prisoners (some of whom are paroled) will admit, which will be forwarded as soon as obtained.

"I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of esteem and consideration, your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant,

"JONATHAN TRUMBULL."

Having given the local and perhaps most partisan American accounts, together with the British official publications, I have thought it not out of place to give a space to the accounts of unprejudiced historians of the time, as well as some of the pro-British accounts.

Robert Beatson, LL. D., in his "Naval and Military Memoirs of Great Britain," published in London in 1804, follows very nearly the text of Arnold's report, but says: —

"Notwithstanding the advantages the defenders had in being so much under cover, Col. Ledyard and most of the officers who were in Fort Griswold were killed, and in that place eighty-five private men were found killed and sixty wounded, most of the latter mortally."

Adolphus' "History of England," in seven volumes, dismisses this battle with —

"Soon after the arrival of Lord Cornwallis in Virginia, Genl Arnold returned to Sir Henry Clinton who now employed him in an attack on New London in Conn. Although deceived in his information respecting the fortifications, Arnold took the town and a fort called Griswold by assault, destroyed 50 pieces of cannon and a large quantity of Military Stores, and burned 12 ships, the flames of which spreading to the town a great part was consumed."

The following is the account of this battle as given in the "British Annual Register." It is from the English stand-point, and is quite as fair as anybody could reasonably expect. It is evidently the account which many of the historians have used.

The "British Annual Register for 1782," in describing the events of 1781, gives the details of the continuance of the "War in America," and is the English his-

torical record of Arnold's expedition to Connecticut, the battle of Groton Heights, and the burning of New London, as follows : —

“As some consolation for the imminent danger which threatened the British power in Virginia, and some return for the deceptions so successfully practised by the enemy, their departure from the confines of New York was speedily followed by a successful expedition to Connecticut which was attended with no small loss and ruin to the Americans. The trading town of New London on the River Thames was the object of this enterprise, and its conduct with a sufficient land and marine force was committed to Gen^l Arnold, who was himself a native of that province.

“The embarkation having passed over from the Long Island shore in the night, the troops were landed in two detachments on each side of the harbor in the morning, that on the Groton side being commanded by Lieut Col. Eyre, and that on the New London side by the General. Mr. Arnold met with no great trouble on his side, Fort Trumbull, and a redoubt, which was intended to cover the harbor and town, being taken without much difficulty or loss, and the place itself being entirely defenceless.

“But affairs on the other side were more serious. Fort Griswold, which the eager and encouraging zeal of the loyalists had represented as very incomplete in its works, and destitute of any thing like a garrison, was on the contrary found to be very strong and no less well defended. The general, under the impression of the information he had received, and from the opportunity which the fort afforded to the enemy's ships escaping up the river, had directed Col. Eyre to attack the fort directly, and carry it by a coup-de-main;

but upon his obtaining a good view of it in the neighborhood of New London, he immediately perceived the deception, and that the fort was in a much more formidable state than it had been represented, upon which he dispatched an officer to countermand the orders for an attack.

“ The officer was too late, and the attack immediately commenced. The fort was indeed formidable, the defence answerable, and it required all the valor and impetuosity of the two brave regiments which were engaged, to surmount the dangers and difficulties of the encounter. The attack, notwithstanding the little time for observation or counsel, was very judiciously conducted. The work was a square, with flanks; and the troops, advancing on three sides at once, succeeded in making a lodgment in the ditch; they then, under the cover of a very constant and heavy fire upon the works, effected a second lodgment upon the fraizing, which was a work of the greatest difficulty, as besides the obstinacy of the defence, the height was so considerable that the soldiers could only ascend by mutual help from each other’s shoulders, and those who first ascended had still to silence a nine-pounder, which enfiladed the very spot on which they stood. The troops at length made their way good with fixed bayonets through the embrasures, notwithstanding the fierce defence made by the garrison, who now, changing their weapons, fought desperately hand to hand with long spears.

“ The 40th and 54th regiments purchased the honor, great as it was, which they gained in storming this place. Col. Eyre was wounded in the attack, and the command taken by Major Montgomery, who being killed with a spear as he gallantly entered the works

was succeeded by Major Bromfield, who had the fortune of completing the reduction of the fort. Two commissioned officers and 46 men were killed on the spot, besides eight missing, whose fate may scarcely be considered as doubtful; eight commissioned officers, some of whom died, with 135 non-commissioned officers and privates were wounded. The loss of the garrison was proportionate to the obstinacy of their defence. Col. Ledyard, their commander, with most of his officers and 85 private men lay dead in the fort; of 60 who were disabled, much the greater part were mortally wounded, about 70 were made prisoners.

“The taking of Fort Griswold did not prevent 16 of the American ships from making their escape up the river; about a dozen others were burnt. The loss which the Americans sustained in the destruction of this place was prodigious. The quantities of naval stores, of European manufactures, of East India and of West India commodities are represented to have been so immense, as almost to exceed belief. Every thing on the town side of the river was destroyed by fire. Nothing was carried off, except such small articles of spoil as afforded no trouble to the conveyance. The burning of the town was said to be contrary to intention and orders, and was attributed to the great quantity of gunpowder lodged in the store-houses. The business was so badly conducted that the barracks and a considerable magazine of gunpowder at Fort Griswold escaped that destruction which involved every thing on the other side of the river. This is not accounted for, but must undoubtedly have proceeded from a knowledge of some movements making by the enemy in the adjoining country.”

"The History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America," by William Gordon, D. D., and published in London in 1788, gives substantially the same account, differing somewhat in its details, a part of his information being from other sources. Of the massacre he says : —

"The Americans had not more than half a dozen killed before the enemy entered the fort, when a severe execution took place though resistance ceased. The British officer enquired on his entering who commanded? Col. Ledyard replied, 'I did, sir, but you do now,' and presented him his sword. The Colonel was immediately run through and killed. The slain were 73, the wounded between 30 and 40 and about 40 were carried off prisoners."

Daniel Ramsay, M. C., of South Carolina, prepared a history of the American Revolution, which was published in London in 1793. In it the account of Arnold's expedition is essentially a copy from Gordon, except that he places Colonel Eyre among the killed and Major Montgomery among the wounded, evidently an error in transcribing, as the reverse was the fact. He closes his article as follows : "The Americans lost many valuable men and much of their possessions by this incursion, but the cause for which they contended was uninjured."

In 1809, Charles I. W. Botta, a distinguished Italian, physician and author, member of the administration of the department of the Po, and holding other important offices under Napoleon in 1809, prepared "The History of the War of the Independence of America,"

in Italian, in four octavo volumes, in which he acknowledges as authorities consulted the "British Annual Register," David Ramsay's "History of the American Revolution," and William Gordon, from which the previous quotations have been taken, with the addition of some facts and incidents discreditable to the enemy, omitted by the British historians, and doubtless wrote without prejudice on either side, independently and truthfully, as follows: "The principal object of this (Arnold's) expedition was to seize New London, a rich and flourishing town, situated upon the New Thames. The access of the port of New London was rendered difficult by two forts erected on the opposite banks, one called fort Trumbull, the other fort Griswold. The royalists having disembarked, unexpectedly, at daybreak, carried the first without much effort; but the second made a vigorous resistance. Col. Ledyard had promptly thrown himself into it with a body of the militia, and the work itself was very strong, consisting of a walled square with flanks. The assailants, when finally masters of the place, massacred as well those who surrendered as those who resisted. The town of New London itself was laid in ashes, it is not known whether by design or chance. A great number of vessels, richly laden, fell into the power of Arnold. This first success obtained, the English seeing no movement made in their favor, and observing, on the contrary, the most menacing dispositions among the inhabitants, decided for retreat. It was signalized by the most horrible devastations. This expedition was on their part but a piratical inroad, absolutely without utility. In vain did they endeavor to make a great noise with their march and their bloody executions in Connecticut. Washington scarcely noticed it.

The naval battle and the diversion against New London, neither had attained its object."

It will be noticed that the "British Annual Register," following Arnold's official returns, omits saying anything in regard to nearly eighty of the heroic defenders who were massacred within the fort after resistance ceased, or that the fact that its gallant commander was murdered with his own sword, but simply says, "Col. Ledyard, the commander, with most of his officers and 85 private men, lay dead in the fort," plainly intimating that they all fell before the entry of the British troops and surrender of the garrison. It is more emphatic in speaking of the strength of the work, the ignorance of Arnold's informers, and the valor and impetuosity of the assaulting party. It has been reserved for later generations to doubt the judgment of Ledyard in refusing to surrender without a fight, forgetting the fact that Arnold sent a messenger to countermand the order for attack, plainly showing what he then thought of the strength of the work and the wisdom of an assault. The other historians, Gordon, Ramsay, and Botta, all agreed that only about six or seven persons were killed previous to the storming of the works. Gordon alone describes the cruelty of the enemy in placing the wounded, bleeding prisoners in the wagon to be run down the steep hillside. Gordon also declares unequivocally that "the burning of the town was intentional and not accidental." Botta very naturally denounces the expedition as "a piratical inroad, absolutely without utility, and signalized by the most horrible devastations," and this may be regarded as the verdict of subsequent history.



FORT GRISWOLD.

IN my researches I found the petition of Col. W^m Ledyard which is printed below. In what light the Legislature viewed it is seen by their allowance of the full amount of the claim. After reading this petition and statement of Col. Ledyard, we may cease to wonder that he did not give up to the invader this fort which he had seen grow, stone by stone, under his eye and direction, till he had come to feel an affection for it as if it were a child of his own. He undoubtedly knew its great strength, and believed it capable of being successfully defended against any force, and certainly against all the British at any time in sight. And such a belief acquits him of rashness or stupidity. And the further facts that he had at least a fifth as many men, all fairly under cover, as the English commander had, and that he did once, at least, if not more than once, repulse the invaders, give added force to his evidently good judgment. Besides, accounts agree in stating that he confidently expected formidable reinforcements.

This refusal to surrender unconditionally without a fight transformed the fort into an Altar of Liberty where was made the last sacrifice on the soil of New England. Each stone laid by Ledyard becomes a part of a monument, enduring as history itself, to the bravery of the garrison and the self-forgetting stubbornness of the defence. Notwithstanding the training and numbers of the assailants, they were conquer-

ors at the expense of their honor and with a loss of more than a fifth of their companions. Each picket of the "fraise" impaled the reputation of the once honored Benedict Arnold, and held up for the scorn of all time the revengeful brutality of his subalterns.

To the Honorable General Assembly now Convened at Hartford.

The Memorial of . . . William Ledyard of Groton in the County of New London humbly sheweth

That soon after the Commencement of the present War the Superintendency and Construction of the Fortifications that guard the Entrance of the Harbor of New London and those that secure the Town were committed to his Charge that with great Fatigue and attention he was employed from the 20th of March 1777 to the 20th of Nov^r following in planning and directing the Building of the Fort on Groton side called Fort Griswold. That from the 1st Day of April 1778 to the 1st of November following he was engaged with great Labour and Industry in planning and directing the Building of the Fort on New London side called Fort Trumbull and that from the 15th Day of April 1779 to the 20th Day of October following he had the sole direction of the Building of the Works on Town Hill in New London, for which several and extraordinary services your Memorialist has not rec^d the least recompense and having made out his Account therefor he incloseth it for your Honors inspection and humbly prays your Honors to make such allowances thereon as shall be thought just and equitable and your memorialist as in Duty bound shall ever pray.

Dated at Hartford the 15th Day of December

ANNO DOM 1780

W^m LEDYARD.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR, VOL. XX., DOC. 226.

*Governor & Company of the State of Connecticut to
William Ledyard Dr.*

To my directing the building of the Fortifi- cations at Groton from 20 th March 1777 to 20 th Nov ^r following at £8 p M ^o	£64. 0. 0
To my directing ditto and at Fort Trumbull from 1 st April 1778 to 1 st Nov ^r following 7 M ^o @ £9	63. 0. 0.
To my directing the Works on Town Hill from 15 th Apl 1779 to 20 th Oct ^r following, is 6 m ^o @ £9	54. 0. 0.
	<hr/> £181. 0. 0.

GROTON, 23^d Oct^r, 1780.

Save Errors,

W^m LEDYARD.¹

Probably no feature in the theatre of the battle has changed so little as the old fort. It is substantially the same in size and outline as then. The barracks, magazine, and platform of that day have decayed and fallen, but their sites are still plainly recognizable by the ruins. Along the east side of the parade three soil-covered mounds mark the location of the old barrack chimneys. In the southwest bastion is the ruined masonry of the magazine, near which stood the flag-staff. As nearly on the same spot as possible was placed the new flagstaff raised in 1881. Along the west side are still seen the stone foundations upon

¹ This Memorial with account inclosed was referred to a Committee of the General Assembly to consider and report. On receipt of their report an act was passed by both branches ordering payment of the bill as presented and given above. — A.

which rested the wood platform, and the well near the gate is the same to which, on that bloody day, the dying soldier in his fevered anguish wistfully turned, and vainly craved of the implacable Briton its cooling draught.

Near the centre of the parade are the ruins of a magazine constructed in 1798, when a war with France was considered imminent; and the coast fortifications, which had received but little attention since the peace of 1783, were put in a state of defence. In 1812-14 the old barracks were repaired, the ditch somewhat deepened, the parapets strengthened with fresh earth, and heavier ordnance mounted; but these guns and their carriages were a short time afterwards removed. In 1842 or 1843 a commission from the War Department reported in favor of making this fort a permanent work; but the Mexican question, which was then looming into view in the southwestern horizon, caused the abandonment of the project at that time, and it has never since been revived. Aside from its commanding position this old fort would present to the military eye of fifty years ago but small claims for offensive powers; but the lessons of modern war have taught the engineer of to-day that, mounted with improved artillery, the old sodded ruin would be more capable of injury to an enemy, and far more susceptible of defence, than the elaborate granite fortress opposite. But, however strong and defiant it might be made, let us hope the occasion for its proof will never arise; that its grass-covered ramparts, once sanctified by the blood of patriots, may never be torn by hostile shot—never again be the scene of human conflict.



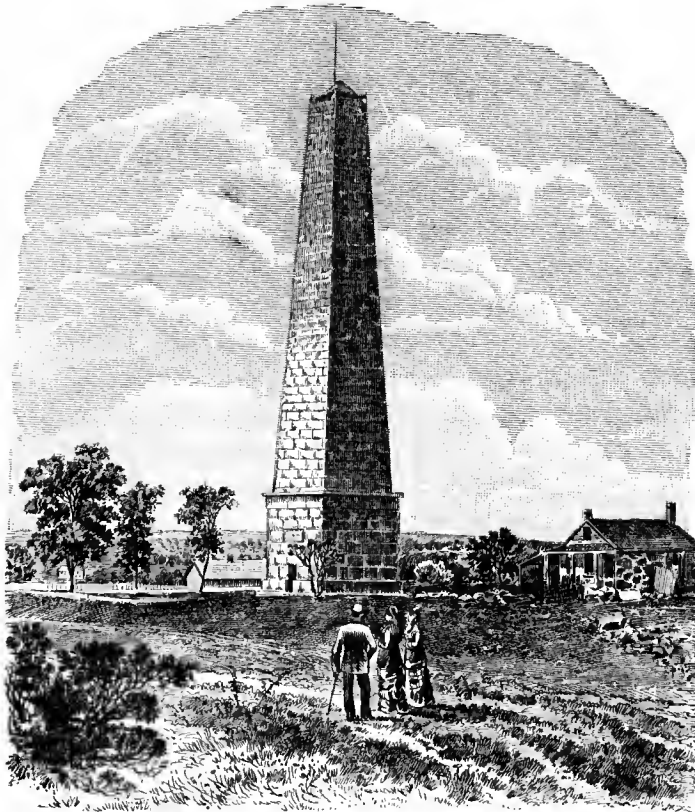
THE BATTLE MONUMENT.

IN the year 1826 a number of gentlemen in Groton, feeling that the tragic events occurring in the neighborhood in 1781 should be more properly commemorated, organized as an association for the purpose of erecting a monument. An application to the legislature for a charter was granted, and a lottery in aid of the work was legalized by special act. The corner-stone was laid September 6th of that year, and on the 6th of September, 1830, it was dedicated with imposing ceremonies. During the centennial year important repairs and changes were made.

In form it is now an obelisk twenty-two feet square at the base, and eight and one half feet at base of pyramidon, resting on a die twenty-four feet square, which in turn rests upon a base twenty-six feet square. Its material is granite, quarried in the neighborhood.

Its whole height is one hundred and thirty-five feet, and its summit, which is reached by a spiral stair-way of one hundred and sixty-six stone steps, is two hundred and sixty-five feet above the waters of the bay. From this point a picture of sea and land of almost unrivalled beauty is presented, well repaying the visitor for the toil of ascent.

Upon a marble slab on the west face, over the entrance, is the following inscription : —



GROTON HEIGHTS MONUMENT

To commemorate the defence of Fort Griswold by Col. WILLIAM LEDYARD and his brave companions, September 6, 1781. Corner-stone laid September 6, 1826; dedicated September 6, 1830. Material, granite; 26 feet square at the base, 24 feet square on the die, 22 feet square at base of the shaft, and 11 feet at the top; whole height 127 feet. It stood thus till the Centennial, in 1881, when the height was increased to 135 feet.

This Monument

was erected under the patronage of the State of Connecticut, A. D. 1830,
and in the 55th year of the Independence of the U. S. A.

In Memory of the Brave Patriots

who fell in the massacre at Fort Griswold near this spot
on the 6th of September, A. D. 1781,
when the British under the command of
the *traitor Benedict Arnold*,
burnt the towns of New London & Groton, and spread
desolation and woe throughout this region.

Within the monument, upon the right of the entrance, is a marble tablet bearing the names of the heroes who fell on that bloody day. This was formerly on the south side of the monument, facing the fort; some years since, repairs becoming necessary, it was removed to the present location, and its place supplied with solid masonry. There was also above and connected with it a slab bearing the following inscription, which was also removed at that time and never replaced: —

“Zebulon and Naphtali were a people that jeoparded their lives unto the death in the high places of the field.”

Judges, 5 Chap. 18 verse.

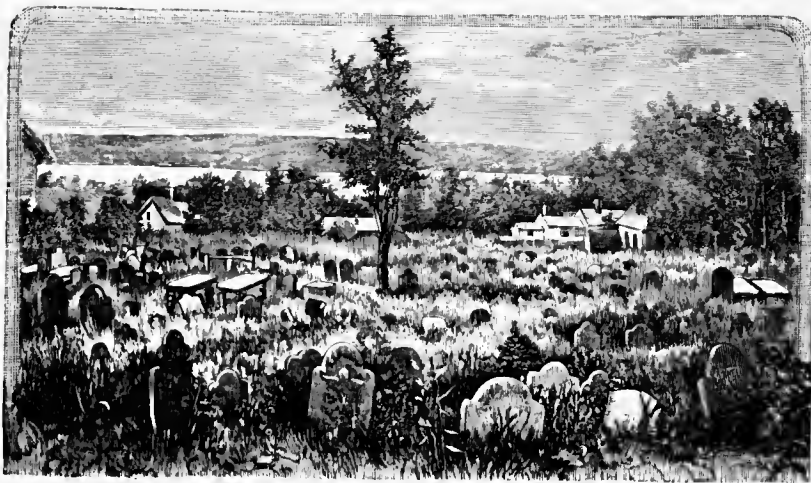




MONUMENTAL RECORDS.

THIS chapter is an outgrowth of the interest excited in this direction by the compilation of the narratives. The subject naturally follows, and will, it is thought, give additional interest if not value to the preceding narratives and reports, in which we see, amid the smoke of battle and "in the frenzy of the death-struggle, the heroes whom we here follow to their quiet resting-places, and, reading their homely epitaphs, seem in a measure to become personally acquainted with them.

A visit to the graves near the scene of the battle led to wider explorations in the many public and private cemeteries of Groton and adjacent townships. Nearly one hundred were visited, and the result, considering the general ignorance, and, it may also regretfully be said, the indifference of even their descendants regarding the sepulture of these brave men, was much more successful than was or could have been anticipated. Quite a large number of graves are known to have ever remained unprovided with engraved tablets, and of those which were properly so marked, many of the stones have fallen, and are now concealed by the heavy vegetable accumulations of years. Hence some, doubtless, were passed over undiscovered, even after extended inquiry and careful research. These neglected and forgotten memorials of the fathers' devotion to the



FIRST BURYING GROUND, NEW LONDON.¹

¹ It is said that it was from this ground that Arnold viewed Fort Griswold, and sent the messenger countermanding the order for its assault.

cause of country and liberty are widely scattered through Groton and the neighboring towns, most frequently in obscure and lonely localities, sometimes hidden in the shade of heavy forest trees, and covered by dense undergrowth of noxious weeds and shrubs, — the undisturbed home of the burrowing wild animal and noisome reptile.

On visiting these solitary places of interment, and reading from the monuments the rudely cut epitaphs which sometimes breathe a spirit of resignation and Christian hope, but far oftener that of defiant and fiery indignation, the visitor realizes more than ever before the extent of the desolation and woe spread throughout this region by the invasion of the traitor.

The lamented Frances Manwaring Caulkins, in addition to her many other historical and antiquarian labors, made quite extensive researches in this direction, the results of which she designed publishing at a future day, under the title of "The Stone Records of Groton."

On learning that the present work was in preparation, her brother, the Hon. Henry P. Haven, very generously proffered the editor the privilege of consulting her manuscripts, which have been of much assistance in preparing this difficult subject.

At some considerable pains and expense I have prepared engravings from head-stones in the various rural cemeteries of the vicinity, where the dead from the battlefield were buried. These engravings are from photographs, taken after each line and dot had been carefully retraced, and of course are exact; and give a good idea of the graveyard art of that time. The inscriptions are quaint, homely, and characteristic of a simple, honest, and open-minded people. It requires

only a limited imagination to recall — in part at least — the scenes after the massacre. Of the one hundred and sixty odd men who were in the fort on that 6th of September, almost all were natives of New London and Groton, and most fought in the sight and all within the hearing of their own firesides. Their wives and children or fathers and mothers heard the guns they fired and those of the enemy by which they died. They could only imagine the bayonet stabs by which the greater portion of them were murdered after the surrender. When the roar of cannon and the rattle of musketry ceased, and they knew by the curling smoke of the burning town that the invaders were victors, they still hoped for humanity to the vanquished. Not till the hostile flag at the mast-head of the British fleet disappeared in the darkness did those friends and neighbors gather to find their loved ones dead among heaps of slain, literally butchered by the barbarism of a civilized people worse than that of the savages. How easy to picture men and women, wives, mothers, sweethearts, fathers, and brothers, examining the faces of the sleepers to find the dearest idols of the heart cold in death, bathed in gore, murdered by brutal enemies; led by a traitor who in other years had known every foot of the ground so bravely consecrated to a noble memory. Does not the reader see the crowd of anxious ones all that long night after the slaughter, some with lanterns, others by their hands alone, searching for their household treasures, and, having found them, tenderly and carefully as a mother lays her infant to sleep, carrying the still bleeding body on the rude country-made bier, raised on the shoulders of old men and boys, to the near or distant home for burial? So they went, with the Allyn's north-

ward to their century old, family graveyard by the river bank, with the Perkinses and Starrs northeastward, with the Averys and Ledyards south, all to their final resting-place, — burying them with simple rites and uncovered heads among their ancestors in the almost neglected “God’s acre,” where it will be an honor for the generations of all time to lie in ground which their valor defended, which their freely-given lives sanctified, and which their holy dust has forever consecrated to liberty and patriotism.

“How sleep the brave who sink to rest
By all their country’s wishes blest !
When spring, with dewy fingers cold,
Returns to deck their hallowed mould,
She there shall dress a sweeter sod
Than Fancy’s feet have ever trod.

“By fairy hands their knell is rung ;
By forms unseen their dirge is sung ;
There Honor comes, a pilgrim gray,
To bless the turf that wraps their clay ;
And Freedom shall awhile repair
To dwell a weeping hermit there.”

About four hundred and fifty yards southeast from the fort is the grave of Colonel Ledyard, whose name has been given to the cemetery, which was formerly known as that of Packer’s Rock, from the high ledge upon its eastern border. In 1854 the State appropriated fifteen hundred dollars for the erection of a suitable memorial to the martyr. His remains, with those of his wife and children, were removed a few yards to the west, near the centre of the ground, and a beautiful monument, cut from native granite, was erected over his grave.

It is inclosed by an iron railing supported by posts appropriately cast in the form of cannon. Within the

inclosure are the remains of the slab of blue slate which originally marked the grave ; it is now nearly destroyed, and the inscription rendered illegible by the vandalism of the relic hunter. On the west face of the monument, upon the shaft, an unsheathed sabre is carved in relief ; below, upon the sub-base, in raised letters, is the name LEDYARD, and on the die is the following inscription : —

Sons of Connecticut

Behold this Monument and learn to emulate
the virtue valor and Patriotism of your ancestors.

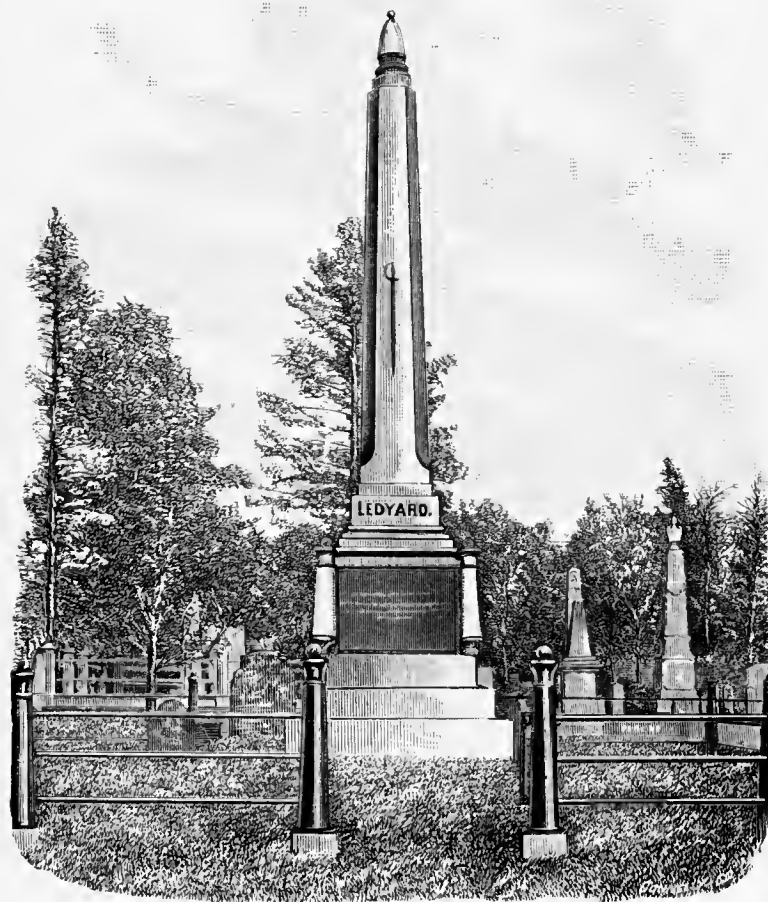
The south face bears the following : —

ERECTED IN 1854

By the State of Connecticut in remembrance of the
painful events that took place in this neighborhood
during the war of the Revolution ;

It commemorates the Burning of New London,
the Storming of Groton Fort the Massacre of
the Garrison and the slaughter of Ledyard the
brave Commander of these posts who was slain
by the Conquerors with his own Sword.

He fell in the service of his country
Fearless of death and prepared to die.



THE LEDYARD MONUMENT

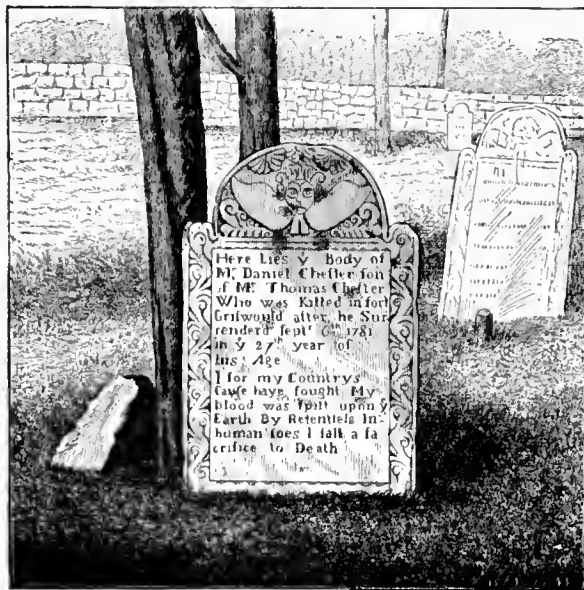
ERECTED BY THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT TO COMMEMORATE THE BURNING
OF NEW LONDON, THE STORMING OF GROTON FORT, THE MASSACRE
OF THE GARRISON, AND THE SLAUGHTER OF LEDYARD.

On the north: —

Copy of the Inscription on the Head-Stone originally erected over the Grave of Colonel Ledyard.

Sacred to the Memory of WILLIAM LEDYARD Esq^r
Col^l Commandant of the Garrisoned posts of New London
& Groton; Who after a gallant defence, was with a part of
the brave Garrison, inhumanly Massacred; by british troops
in Fort Griswold, Sep 6 1781 Ætatis suæ 43
By a judicious & Faithful discharge of the various duties
of his Station, He rendered most essential Service to his
Country; and stood confessed, the unshaken Patriot;
and intrepid Hero. He lived, the Pattern of Magna-
nimity; Courtesy, and Humanity. He fell the Victim
of ungenerous Rage and Cruelty.

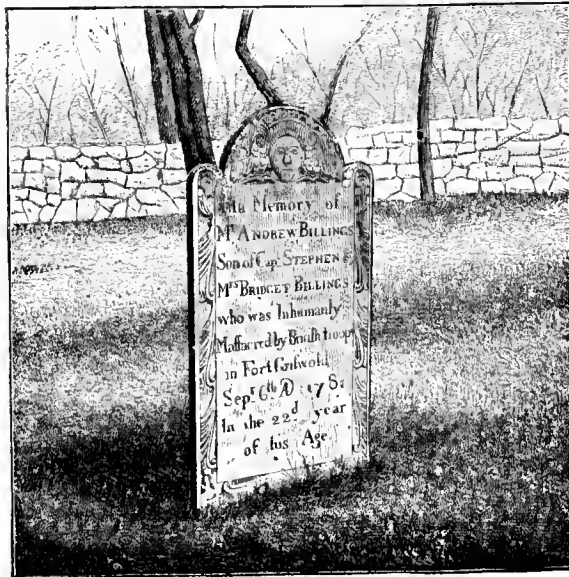
A few yards from the monument of Colonel Ledyard
are the following inscriptions: —



Battle of Groton Heights.

Here Lies y^e Body of
 M^r Eldredge Chester son of M^r Thomas
 Chester who was wound-
 ed in fort Griswold sep^r
 6th 1781 and died of his wounds dec 31st in
 y^e 24th year of his Age.

~~~~~  
 Relentless was my foe, Deaths weapons through  
 me went, Fell by y<sup>e</sup> Fatal blow, Lingered  
 till life was Spent.



In Memory of Lieu<sup>t</sup>  
Ebenezer Avery who  
fell Gloriously in Defence  
of fort Grifwoud and  
American Freedom  
sep<sup>t</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> 1781 in y<sup>e</sup> 49<sup>th</sup>  
year of his Age

---

Exhibiting a noble Specimen  
of Military Valour  
and Patriotic Virtue.

Sacred  
to the memory of  
Cap<sup>t</sup> John Williams  
who fell gloriously  
fighting for the  
liberty of his country  
in Fort Grifwold  
Sep 6 1781 in the  
43<sup>rd</sup> year of his age.

\* \* \*

*Ye patriot friends that weep my fate  
As if untimely slain,  
Faith binds my soul to Jesus's breast  
And turns my loss to gain.*

In Memory of  
 Cap<sup>t</sup> YOUNGS LEDYARD  
 who was mortally wounded  
 making heroic exertions  
 for the defence of  
 Fort Griswold Sep<sup>r</sup> 6<sup>th</sup>  
 of which he died  
 the 7<sup>th</sup> AD: 1781  
 in the 31<sup>st</sup> year of his Age.



ORIGINAL HEADSTONE AT COLONEL LEDYARD'S GRAVE,  
 AS AT PRESENT LEFT BY RELIC HUNTERS.



In the Starr Burial Ground, on the North Road, in Groton: —





In Memory of  
 M<sup>r</sup> HENRY WOODBRIDGE  
 who was slain in Fort  
 Griswold Sep<sup>r</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> 1781  
 in the 33<sup>d</sup> year  
 of his Age.

*Will not a day of reckoning come  
 does not my blood for vengeance cry  
 how will those wretches bear their doo<sup>m</sup>  
 who hast me slain most Murderously.*





*In Memory of*  
 THOMAS STARR JR<sup>R</sup>  
*who was slain in*  
 Fort Griswold Sep 6<sup>th</sup> 1781  
 in the 19<sup>th</sup> year  
 of his age.

About one mile north of the Starr Cemetery, on the same road, in a small inclosure, known as the Wood Burial Ground, is a stone bearing the following inscription:—

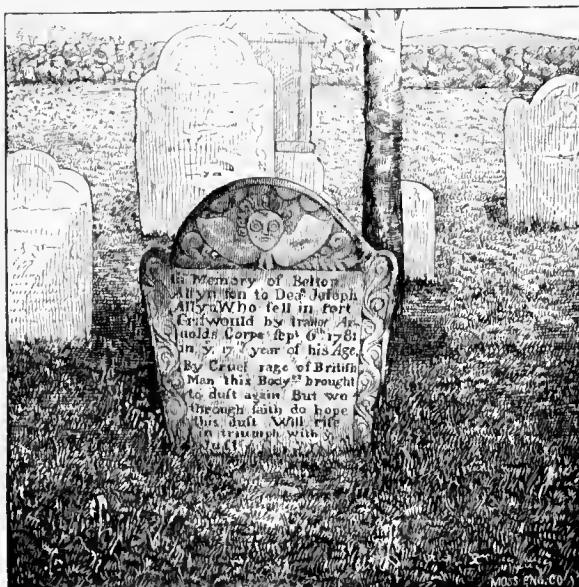


The following is in the "Old Cemetery" near Gale's Ferry:—

In Memory of  
M<sup>r</sup> RUFUS HURLBUT  
Who fell in the bloody  
*Committed by Benedict Arnolds troops*  
Massacre, at Fort Grifwoud  
Sept<sup>ber</sup> the 6<sup>th</sup> 1781 in the 40<sup>th</sup>  
year of his Age.

Reader confider how I fell  
For Liberty I blead  
Oh then repent ye Sons of hell  
For the innocent blood you shead

In the old Ground at Allyn's Point in Ledyard:—





In the Turner Ground in Ledyard:—

In Memory of M<sup>r</sup>  
 Moses Jones who was  
 slain in fo<sup>r</sup>t Griswold  
 Sep<sup>t</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> 1781 in y<sup>e</sup> 25<sup>th</sup>  
 year of his Age

Will not a day of Rec-  
 oning come, Does not  
 my blood for vengeance  
 Cry? How will those  
 Wretches bear their  
 Doom who hath me  
 Slain Most Murderously

*Battle of Groton Heights.*

In Memory of M<sup>r</sup> Joseph  
 Moxley who Died sep<sup>r</sup>  
 6<sup>th</sup> 1781, in fort Griswold  
 by traitor arnolds  
 murdering Corps in y<sup>e</sup>  
 46<sup>th</sup> year of his Age.

By Gods decree my  
 bounds ware fixt, the  
 time the place, the means  
 though vile, & whilst I bleed,  
 the views of blifs, Faith  
 triumphed over Monster Death.

Near Morgan's Pond (or Sandy Hollow), Led-  
 yard : —

In Memory of M<sup>r</sup> Simeon  
 Morgan who died sep<sup>r</sup> 6<sup>th</sup>  
 1781 in fort Griswold by trai-  
 tor arnolds murdering Corps  
 in y<sup>e</sup> 27<sup>h</sup> year of his Age.

This Blooming youth in  
 sweets of life, his God  
 doth Call while Cannon  
 roar, a winged dart  
 doth seafe his breath,  
 & takes him from  
 this Golden shore.



In Memory of En<sup>n</sup>  
John Lefter who died  
sep<sup>r</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> 1781 in fort  
Grifwould by traitor  
Arnolds murdering Corps  
in y<sup>e</sup> 42<sup>d</sup> year of his Age.

By Gods decreë my bounds  
ware fixt, the time y<sup>e</sup>  
place though much Confus<sup>d</sup>,  
the Cause was good y<sup>e</sup>  
means was vile, Snatch<sup>d</sup>  
me from Charms of  
Golden Life

In Memory of M<sup>r</sup>  
Andrew Baker who Died  
sep<sup>r</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> 1781 in fourt Grif  
would by Traitor Arnolds  
Murdering Corps in the  
26<sup>th</sup> year of his Age.

This gallant youth while  
Cannons roar, Decree<sup>d</sup> by  
God to live no more  
a sudder dart by mur  
dering hands, Death Ceased  
his life at Gods Command.

*Battle of Groton Heights.*

In Memory of  
 Lieut Joseph Lewis who  
 died sept<sup>r</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> 1781 In fourt  
 Grifwould by traitor Arnolds  
 murdering Corps in y<sup>e</sup> 41<sup>st</sup>  
 year of his Age.

This gallant man when God  
 Doth call doth give his life  
 in freedoms caufe ; a sudder  
 dart doth wing away that  
 precious life that dwells  
 in Clay.

In the " Old Palmer Ground," near the head of Palmer's Cove, at Noank, is the following : —

In Memory of M<sup>r</sup>  
 David Palmer who  
 was slain in Fort  
 Grifwould sep 6<sup>th</sup>  
 1781 in y<sup>e</sup> 38  
 year of his Age.

In the “ Old Ground ” at Poquonoc : —

Sacred to the  
Memory of M<sup>r</sup>  
Thomas Avery  
son to Park Avery  
Jn<sup>r</sup> who made  
his exit in fort  
Grifwould sep<sup>t</sup>  
6<sup>th</sup> 1781 Aged  
17 years.

Life how short Eternity  
how long.

In Memory of Ensign  
Daniel Avery who  
nobly nobly Sa  
crificed his Life  
in Defence of fort  
Grifwould & the  
Liberties of America  
sep<sup>t</sup> 6 1781 in y<sup>e</sup>  
41<sup>st</sup> year of his Age.

*Battle of Groton Heights.*

In Memory of M<sup>r</sup>  
 Solomon Avery  
 who was slain in  
 fort Grifwould by  
 the british troops  
 sep<sup>t</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> 1781 in  
 y<sup>e</sup> 33<sup>d</sup> year of  
 his Age.

In Memory of M<sup>r</sup>  
 Patric Ward who  
 fell a victim to  
 British cruelty in fort  
 Grifwould sep<sup>t</sup> 6<sup>th</sup>  
 1781 in y<sup>e</sup> 25<sup>th</sup>  
 year of his Age

In Memory of  
 M<sup>r</sup> Elifha Avery  
 who was slain in fort Grifwould  
 sep<sup>t</sup> 6 1781 in  
 y<sup>e</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> year of  
 his Age.  
 It is appointed  
 for man once  
 to die.

In Memory of  
Mr Jasper Avery  
who was slain in fort  
Grifwould in defence  
of his Countrys  
freedom sep<sup>t</sup> 6<sup>th</sup>  
1781 in y<sup>e</sup> 38<sup>th</sup> year  
of his Age.

This life uncer  
tain but Death  
comes to all





In the Old Ground at Burnett's Corners, in Gro-  
ton: —

In memory of Cap<sup>t</sup>  
Hubbard Burrows  
who was killed  
in Fort Griswold  
Sept 6<sup>th</sup> 1781  
in the 42<sup>d</sup> year  
of his age.

In  
Memory of  
JOHN P BABCOCK  
*who together with a small  
party of Americans in  
Fort Griswold withstood  
an Assault made by a  
Detachment of  
British Troops  
until being overcome  
by superior numbers  
he was Massacred  
Sep<sup>r</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> 1781  
Æ 30 years.*

In the White Hall Ground, on Mystic River, in the  
town of Stonington : —

In Memory of M<sup>r</sup>  
Thomas Williams  
who was kill<sup>d</sup> in  
fourt Griswold  
sep<sup>r</sup> 6<sup>th</sup>  
AD 1781  
in y<sup>e</sup> 60<sup>th</sup> year  
of his age.

The following inscription is in the private ground of Seth Williams, Esq., on the "Norwich and Mystic road," in the town of Ledyard : —

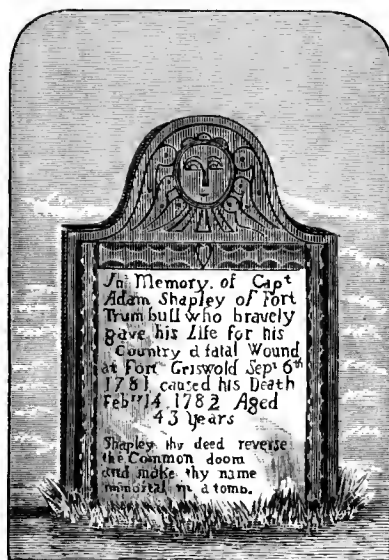
In Memory of  
Lieut Henry Williams  
son of Cap<sup>t</sup> Henry Williams  
& Mary his Wife  
who fell at Fort  
Grifwold Sep 6<sup>th</sup> 1781  
in the 32<sup>d</sup> year of  
his age.

In the First Ground in New London are those given below : —

In Memory of  
Mr John Holt Jun<sup>r</sup>  
who was slain in Fort  
Grifwold sep 6<sup>th</sup> 1781  
in the 35 year of his age.

In Memory  
of Mr John Clark who departed  
this life Sept 6<sup>th</sup> 1781  
aged 34.



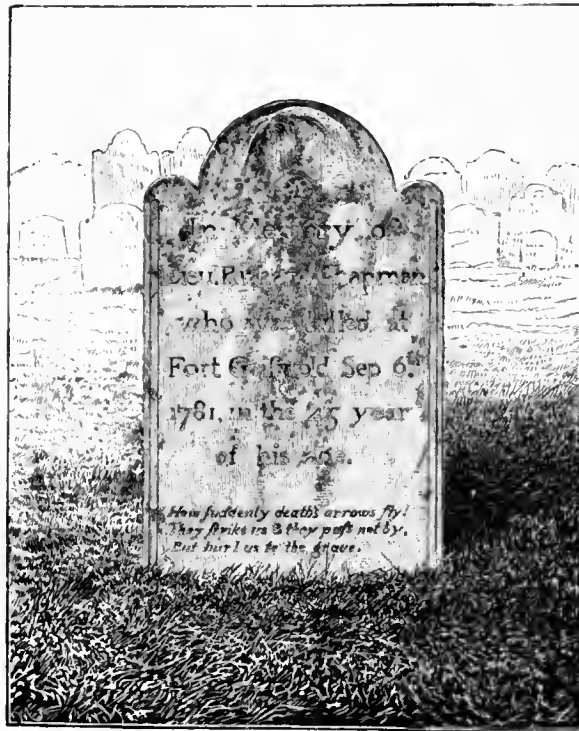


ADAM SHAPLEY, Captain of Artillery, had been for a number of years commander of Fort Trumbull. On the approach of the invaders he rallied his men, and made as good a defence as possible with his garrison of twenty-three, discharging grape at the advancing columns until they had gained the unprotected rear of the fort, which he then abandoned. Embarking with his men in three boats, he crossed under fire to Groton, losing in the passage one boat with six men, half its crew being wounded. With those from the other boats he reinforced Fort Griswold, where most of the men were killed and he received a fatal wound. He was of an old family in New London, where the name is now extinct. They lived on Shapley Street, which was laid out in 1747 through their property. A number of the Shapley houses are still standing. In one of them, which is almost unchanged at the present time, Adam lived. Here he languished for five weary months of his wound, receiving during that time the news of the death of his oldest son on one of the British prison ships.



JONATHAN FOX.

Of this man little seems to be known, as his name is not in the list of Rufus Avery or of the *Connecticut Gazette*. He was probably one of those killed on the New London side. A man of the same name was one of the volunteers who marched from New London in response to the Lexington alarm, April, 1775.



LIEUT. RICHARD CHAPMAN.

In Cedar Grove Cemetery, New London. This stone was removed from the Old Ground a few years since:—

In Memory of  
Cap<sup>t</sup> PETER RICHARDS  
who was willing to Hazzard  
every danger in defence  
of American Independence  
was a Volunteer in  
Fort Grifwold at Groton  
the 6<sup>th</sup> of sept 1781  
and there Slain in the  
28 year of his Age.

In the Old Stanton Burial Ground, in Stonington, are buried in one grave two brothers; their monument bears the following inscription:—

|                                            |  |                                            |
|--------------------------------------------|--|--------------------------------------------|
| Lieut Enoch Stanton died | \| | Serg <sup>t</sup> Daniel Stanton died      |
| in y <sup>e</sup> 36 <sup>th</sup> year of |  | in y <sup>e</sup> 26 <sup>th</sup> year of |
| his Age                                    |  | his Age.                                   |

Here interred are the bodies of two brothers  
Sons of Cap<sup>t</sup> Phineas Stanton and  
Elizabeth his wife, who fell with many  
of their friends Sep<sup>t</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> 1781, while man  
fully fighting for the liberty of their country  
and in defence of Fort Grifwold.  
The assailants were troops commanded  
by that most despicable parricide,  
Benedict Arnold.

In the Burial Ground near Comstock's Wharf, in the town of Montville, is a fine granite monument, bearing the following : —

Erected By  
Robert Comstock Esq  
to the Memory of  
his Grandfather  
JAMES COMSTOCK  
who bravely fell  
in Fort Griswold  
in the Service of his Country  
Sept 6 1783 [1]  
Aged 75.  
A signal example of valor  
Patriotism and heroic virtue.

In the Old Ground on Saybrook Point : —

Daniel Son of  
Cap' Charles &  
M<sup>rs</sup> Temparence  
Williams  
who fell in the Action  
in Fort Grifwoud  
on Groton hill on the  
6<sup>th</sup> of Sep<sup>r</sup> 1781  
in the 15<sup>th</sup> year  
of his Age.



## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

OF many of the brave men who risked their lives in defence of Fort Griswold, little is now known beyond their bare names and the fact of the sacrifice of their lives for the cause of their country on that fatal 6th of September, 1781. Of others I have been able to learn comparatively little. The deaths of so many heads of families, and the almost universal poverty of the people after a long and exhausting war, hopelessly scattered many families. Such records and family traditions as seem to me important and reliable I have embodied in the following memoirs, with the aid of friends who have supplied similar information, as indicated by their initials in the text.

### COLONEL WILLIAM LEDYARD.

William Ledyard, the son of Isaac and Elizabeth (Saltonstall) Ledyard, was born in Groton, Conn., in the old Ledyard homestead, near the site of the monument that calls the traveller to mark the spot where was performed one of the most inhuman and disgraceful acts ever known in civilized or barbarous warfare. Much of tradition has been circulated concerning this man, who by his tragic death became the property of the nation and one of the most distinguished heroes of the Revolution. He was a man of fine form, good education for the times, unassuming in his manners,

possessed of great executive ability, and could be depended on in cases of emergency. These traits of character naturally brought him to the surface, and the people by intuition sought him out for prominent usefulness in religious, civil, and military life,— and he never failed in the church, the state, and the field. He married Miss Anna Williams, daughter of Nathaniel and Amey (Hewitt) Williams, of Stonington, by whom he had nine children, seven surviving him, one of whom was only ten days old on the day of the slaughter.<sup>1</sup> He was named Charles, and died in 1789, a few hours before his mother, and by her special request was buried in her arms.

The edict of Parliament to close the port of Boston roused general indignation, protest, and sympathy. Groton was not behind, and, in a public meeting to consider the issue, June 20, 1774, William Ledyard was chosen the first member of a committee of correspondence, with a view to some united effort. November 22, 1775, orders were issued to erect Fort Griswold, and July 3, 1776, he was appointed captain of a company of artillery and commander of the fort. In March, 1778, his command was extended to cover New London, Groton, and Stonington, with the rank of major; and under his direction the works were repaired and additional batteries erected. July 5, 1779, the whole coast in this section was stirred with the expectation of an attack, but so well were they prepared under his direction that the enemy turned away and made New Haven the objective point.

September 6, 1781, early in the morning, it was

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<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Ledyard, with her babe, was taken early in the morning, on her bed, aboard a barge, and sent up the Thames River, to be out of reach of harm. — A.

noticed that the enemy were bearing down on New London harbor with thirty-two sail. Signal guns were fired to give the alarm, but the traitor was on board one ship, and the report of another gun misled the people in the surrounding country. But Colonel Ledyard lost no time in dispatching messengers to Governor Trumbull, at Lebanon, and to the various military companies near at hand, and improved every moment for the disposition of his few defenders, planning every move, and as far as possible preparing for every emergency, and did all he could to protect New London. He stood by the shore, passed some words of cheer to the anxious crowd, and, stepping into the boat to cross the ferry, he bade them good-morning, with this remark, "If I must lose honor or life to-day you who know me best can tell which it will be." With a majestic and elastic step he hurried to his command. His presence and his buoyant spirit inspired the little untrained garrison with hope and courage, and the gallant defence they made rendered them immortal in a struggle with overpowering numbers of thoroughly disciplined and experienced soldiers. He seemed ubiquitous, and cheered and directed the defenders at every point. History has assured to them and to him the just praise of an unparalleled struggle and an unexcelled exhibition of valor and courage. When the assailants had effected an entrance in spite of the efforts of his unsupported force, he could only take the last resort of military necessity, and when asked who commanded the fort, reply, "I did, but you do now," and, turning his sword, give it to the officer, who, with the fury of a demon, plunged it into his heart, causing instant death;<sup>1</sup> which was followed by

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<sup>1</sup> The gradual disappearance of landmarks by the lapse of time has led



a carnage that history blushes to record. The vest and shirt he wore on that fatal day are preserved among other sacred relics in the Athenæum at Hartford, and the cruel rents made by his own sword in the hands of the victor still speak in eternal condemnation of the wretch who thus murdered one of the noblest specimens of the human race. Many were the distinguished dead that were left in that fort, but none wore a calmer or more serene face than that of our hero.

Upon him had fallen the duty of maintaining liberty, and he did it nobly to the end. He suffered the loss of all things, even his life, for his country, and the man who for personal ambition or selfish ends preys on the national interest is guilty of a crime equal in character to the act of that infamous English officer.

J. L. D.

The *fac-simile* of Colonel Ledyard's autograph, given below, was engraved from a letter addressed by him to the selectmen of Lebanon, directing them to send to Norwich Landing the stores they had collected for public service. The letter is dated at New London, April 4, 1781.

A fac-simile of a handwritten signature in cursive script. The signature reads "Wm Ledyard Lt Col." on the first line and "Commandt" on the second line. The ink is black on a white background.

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to the rise of a theory that it was all a mistake about Ledyard being killed with his own sword. Certainly no one raised such a question during the lifetime of the defenders, at least four of whom (A. Gallup, H. Sanford, C. Avery, and J. Mason) spoke as witnessing the killing in all its bloody brutality. — A.

PHILIP TURNER, M. D.,

SURGEON-GENERAL EASTERN DEPARTMENT<sup>1</sup>

On the 6th of September, 1781, when the startling news had reached the towns contiguous to New London and Groton, that an attack had been made on Fort Griswold by the British troops, under the command of the traitor Arnold ; that many of the gallant men who had garrisoned the fort had been slain, and that many more were suffering from wounds received in the bloody conflict, the leading physicians of the county at once hastened to the fort to render the wounded all the aid that medical and surgical skill could afford. Among them stood prominent Doctor Philip Turner, of Norwich. At the request of Colonel Ledyard he had made professional visits to Forts Trumbull and Griswold prior to the battle ; and, as he was not only a conspicuous figure on the scene immediately after the same, but also stood at the head of his profession in the State, a brief sketch of him may with propriety be inserted in a history of the stirring events and leading actors of that day.

Dr. Turner was a lineal descendant of Humphrey Turner, who came from Essex, England, in 1630, and settled at Scituate, Mass. His father, Philip Turner, removed from Scituate to Norwich in the early part of the last century, where the subject of this sketch was born on the 25th of February, 1740. His parents dying while he was yet young, and being left without means, he was taken into the family and under the patronage of Dr. Elisha Tracy, of that town, who deservedly stood high in the public estimation

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<sup>1</sup> The portrait accompanying this sketch is from an ivory miniature in possession of Hon. John Turner Wait, of Norwich.



*Philip Turney Surg. Gen.!*



for his scholarly and professional attainments. Here young Turner was treated with parental kindness, and, at a suitable age, commenced his medical studies under the direction of his patron. In the year 1759 he was appointed assistant surgeon to a provincial regiment under General Amherst, at Ticonderoga. His fine personal appearance, pleasing address, and superior talents attracted the attention of the English surgeons, who treated him with great courtesy, and invited him to witness many of their capital operations. It was from the information and practice he obtained in this school that he laid the foundation of his future eminence. He continued with the army till after the peace of 1763, when he returned to the house of his benefactor, whose eldest daughter he soon after married. He at once established himself in Norwich, in the practice of his profession, devoting his attention especially to surgery.

Possessed of a vigorous constitution, and stimulated by an honorable ambition, Dr. Turner was indefatigable in his exertions to excel in his profession. His unwavering pursuit to attain this end, in connection with the peculiar abilities which he possessed, soon won success. At the breaking out of the war of the Revolution he stood unrivalled as a surgeon in the eastern section of the country. His fame was not confined to the limits of his native State, for he was repeatedly called beyond the borders of the same to perform operations that demanded more than ordinary professional skill. He was the first surgeon of the Connecticut troops in the campaign before Boston. He accompanied the army to New York in 1776, and the commission then issued to him by Governor Trumbull is now in the possession of one of his descend-

ants. The battles of Long Island and White Plains afforded him a favorable opportunity to display his rare ability as an operator, and his unvarying success won him the highest reputation with the troops. In 1777 Congress appointed Dr. Turner director-general, to superintend the General Hospital, but subsequently transferred him from that position to that of surgeon-general of the Eastern Department, which station he filled with great ability till near the close of the war. On retiring from the army he resumed his private practice, and continued in the same with undiminished reputation until 1800, when he removed from Norwich to the city of New York. Advanced in years he felt that a metropolitan practice would be easier for him to pursue. He at once took a high rank among the physicians and surgeons of that city. Shortly after his removal he was appointed a surgeon to the staff of the United States army, and given the medical and surgical care of the troops at the fortifications in the harbor of New York. This very honorable and responsible position he held until his death, which occurred on the 20th of April, 1815, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. He was buried, with military honors, in the yard connected with St. Paul's Church, in the city of New York. The record shows that he served his country with marked distinction in the war with France, the Revolutionary War, and the War of 1812.

Although Dr. Turner did not receive a liberal education, he had naturally a keen and inquiring mind and scholarly tastes, so that by his own efforts he early in life possessed himself of acquirements that were valuable to him in his profession. He had an intuitive capacity that adapted him for the profession of sur-

gery, and won him his great reputation as an operator. The accuracy of his judgment, and the remarkable dexterity of his hand, enabled him to perform the most difficult operations with almost unequalled success. Dr. Shippen, who stood in the front rank of his profession in Philadelphia, and who was associated with Dr. Turner in the army, did him the honor to say that neither in Europe nor in America had he ever seen an operator that excelled him. J. T. W.

The following account is from the manuscript of Azel or (Asahel) Woodworth. Though without date, it is evident this was written about 1809. It is treasured by his grand-daughter as a precious relic. At the time of the battle, he was fifteen years and eleven months old: —

HONORED SIR. I would herein state that I was born in Norwich in the County of New London, & state of Connecticut in October 1765. In July -80 inlisted in the recruiting service. Served a tour of six months under the auspices of the illustrious Washington, retired from the grand army in the winter & inlisted in the Matross company commanded by Capt. W<sup>m</sup>. Latham stationed at Fort Griswold in Groton in the said Connecticut. On the 6<sup>th</sup> of Sept 1781, said fort being taken by storm by a detachment of British troops under command of General Arnold, in defending said fort I received a wound by a musket ball passing into my neck under the right ear & out along by the spine which cut away the tendon & caused my head to recline on my left shoulder. For a short interval I became insensible but being partially recovered & continuing in some degree of mental action until about

noon the next day when my faculties retired & as I was told returned not for 24 hours. When my wound had healed & the term of my enlistment expired I applied myself to manual labor to obtain support. My head being deranged by my wound so as to render me incapable of progressing by study in the knowledge of useful arts which my father was very desirous to further in me, he deeming it not likely I should be able to endure the toils of common labor. Youthful ambition and the considerations of the expenses of the war suffered me not to burden my country with claims for support for a number of years, but being eventually exhausted with pains and frequent suspensions of mental faculties even in the field of labor, about the year 1795 or '96 I applied for & obtained a pension of forty-five dollars per annum and having a family, was enabled thereby to keep them together until 1806, when embarrassed with debt and unable to labor, constantly irritated with nervous pain to the privation of sleep and necessary repose, and unable either to answer the demands of my creditors or the necessities of my family, retired in confusion & despair from all I held dear on earth. After a year's interval returned home to find from the Honorable Pierpont Edwards a commission for Dr. John Turner & John Scott to examine my condition as affected by my wound, which I think took place two years ago last July, the result of which to the best of my remembrance was that they had examined my case & found that I had received a formidable wound in my neck which cut away some ligaments, from whence proceeded a train of nervous spasmodic affections which rendered me almost unable to perform manual labor, and at times partially deranged in my mentals, that at present I was a wandering person dependent in



part upon the bounty of my country for support & in part upon the charity of fortuitous friends."

He died June 8th, 1817. Mr. Woodworth had two children, Phœbe, and Joseph Ellery Woodworth, who was one of the best known citizens of New London. Zibe Woodworth, born April 24, 1763, a brother of Azel, was wounded in the knee, became a preacher, and settled at Montpelier, Vermont, where he died. Thomas Woodworth, who was also wounded, seems (from allusions in family letters which I have been allowed to read) to have been an uncle of Azel and Zibe.

CAPTAIN YOUNGS LEDYARD, a nephew of Colonel Ledyard, born June 24th, 1751, was son of Youngs Ledyard and his wife Mary (Avery), who after the death of her first husband married Stephen Billings (December 12, 1765), whose son Andrew was also slain. In the "Morgan Genealogy," we learn "Captain Youngs Ledyard and his brave companions, on witnessing this cold-blooded butchery (the killing of Colonel Ledyard), believing no quarter or mercy was to be expected, and determined to avenge the barbarous act and to sell their lives as dearly as possible, again rushed into combat and were cut down and fell, almost to a man, around the corpse of their beloved commander."

ANDREW BILLINGS lived at the time with his father near the Elder Tuttle Church in Ledyard. He started for the fort in response to the alarm, reaching there after the gates were shut, and being recognized, a rope was thrown to him, by which he climbed through the embrasure, being the last man to enter for defence. His brother Stephen was in the army with General Washington at the time.

JAPHET MASON, a house carpenter, living on what is now called Old Fort Road, New London, hearing the alarm, took his gun from its hooks, and entered Fort Trumbull as a volunteer. From there he crossed the river to Fort Griswold, with his brother-in-law, Stephen Hempstead, near whom he was standing at the time of the killing of Ledyard, and saw it as described.

Seeing there was no quarter to be expected, he fled and escaped. He afterward moved to Stephentown, New York State, where he died March 4, 1787, after which his family returned to New London.

MRS. LOUISA SANFORD RUDE, daughter of MR. HOLSEY<sup>1</sup> SANFORD, furnishes the following regarding her father: —

“He was a son of Daniel Sanford of Saybrook, and was serving as substitute for his older brother John, an enlisted member of the garrison at Fort Trumbull, who being tired out and his clothes badly worn wished to go home for rest and have his clothing repaired. The officer in command accepted the younger brother as substitute for a few weeks, commencing the latter part of July, he having trained with the minute-men of his town, though not yet sixteen years old.

“On the morning of September 6th, the enemy were seen lying off the harbor. The garrison made all possible preparation to resist, but many faces were ashy pale, they were so few in number, and not armed and disciplined to resist so strong a foe, but every man was at his post.

“They soon took to their boats and joined those at Fort Griswold. He had a slight wound on the knee

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<sup>1</sup> This name is now spelled Halsey.

from a ball, and though not otherwise injured he was stained with human blood from head to foot. He described the killing of Colonel Ledyard as an eye-witness, seeing him present his sword by the point and fall by the thrust of it.

"He with others then fled to the barracks, where many were killed; his life was saved by an officer who ordered off a man who had made a thrust at him with a bayonet. Being carried to New York as a prisoner, he was confined in the prison-ship until after the surrender of Cornwallis, and then exchanged. Mr. Sanford was born October 10, 1765, and died in 1845, when the local paper gave a short sketch of him as one of the defenders of Fort Griswold. He was twice married, and had five sons and six daughters, two of whom, Miriam Sanford Searle of Easthampton, Mass., and Louisa Sanford Rude of Huntington, Mass., are still living."

WILLIAM BOLTON. Of him little can be learned, except he was buried in the Old Ground at New London, though his descendants live here still.

JOHN LESTER, born October 13th, 1740, one of the killed, an ensign in Simcon Allyn's Company, was a farmer, living about two miles from Gale's Ferry.

BENJAMIN BILL, JR., had a pension granted, as "wounded on Sept. 6th 1781, in his ankle, while acting as private in the State Militia opposing the British troops under Arnold." He is mentioned by Dr. Downer as the first man whose wound he dressed.

SAMUEL BOOTH HEMPSTEAD, born 1755, was shot through the thigh in the defence of Fort Nonsense. Six

months previous his brother Daniel, four years younger, had died on the prison-ship Jersey. Samuel belonged to one of the privateers then in port, and had been in the United States Navy. He recovered of his wound, though it cost him his life, when as captain coming out of Martinique in 1795 he was chased by a British man-of-war and the exertions he made to escape caused the old wound to reopen, ending his life on June 5.

ANDREW GALLUP, an artilleryman of the regular garrison, was, while working his gun before the capture, struck by a musket ball coming through the embrasure and passing through his hip. He says, "he would have had another shot at the British if the boy who was bringing the cartridge from the magazine had not been killed and himself hit before another could pick up and bring along the charge." Then he was taken away from his post at the gun, laid helpless on the ground out of the way facing the north gate, and saw while lying thus the enemy march in through the gateway, and Colonel Ledyard advance to meet the officer at the head of the column, to whose inquiry, "Who commands this post?" Ledyard replied, "I have, but you do now," at the same time presenting his sword by the point. The officer seized and instantly drove it through him. Gallup quite naturally remarked whenever he told it, "I'd have given anything in the world to have been on my feet for a minute then." He was afterwards stabbed with a bayonet as he lay helpless on the ground; the point striking a rib, glanced to one side around his body, making a long, but not deep wound, leaving a large scar; also stabbed in the arm. He was one of those who were put in the wagon and chanced to be near

the bottom, but recovered, though pieces of bone came out of the wound in the hip for years. He died March 16th, 1853, nearly ninety-two years old, having been born in June, 1761. He was descended from John Gallop, one of the commanders with John Mason, Jr., both of whom were killed in the King Phillip war; and on his mother's side from John Mason, a sword of whom he received from his mother's brother, Andrew Mason, a son of Nehemiah Mason, who was third in the line of direct descent from the famous John, the exterminator of the Pequots.

Three of his children are living, with two of whom I have conversed. They quite agreed in their accounts, though it so happened I saw them separately.

ROBERT GALLUP, son of Thomas and nephew of Colonels Benadam and Nathan Gallup, was twice wounded in the massacre — with a bayonet and felled to the ground with a blow by a musket. On attempting to rise he received another blow which broke his hip, and rendered him insensible. He was found in this condition the next morning by his mother, who went to the fort searching for him. He eventually recovered, and was, according to newspaper authority, living at Greene, in Chenango Co., New York, in 1853.

THOMAS LAMB is said by family tradition to have been quite a young man, unmarried, and a son of Thomas Lamb, of Groton. His resting-place is unknown, probably in the ancient ground on "Whitman Meeting House Hill," Groton.

THOMAS MINER, a descendant of Clement Miner, one of the earliest New London settlers, was born

September 17, 1751, in Bozrah. He was a ship-carpenter at Gale's Ferry. A large number of his descendants still live in Groton.

JOHN PRENTIS, who lived on what is now known as Truman Street, left his children on the morning of September 6, 1781, giving his eldest daughter orders to take the children to his brother's, in Chesterfield. He joined Captain Shapley at Fort Trumbull, went with him to Fort Griswold, was slightly wounded, and, finding no quarter was being given, he feigned dead. His hat was cut through in several places, and his silver shoe and knee buckles were taken. After the British left he crawled from the place where he had lain among the dead, and gave water to the dying ones. When he returned to New London next day he found his house as he left it, except a bullet hole through the front door. He died in Richmond, Va., 1801.

LIEUTENANT WILLIAM STARR, son of Thomas Starr, was born April 20, 1745. He was the leading blacksmith of the town, and manufactured axes, hoes, ploughshares, spades, forks, and other agricultural implements of iron for the farmers of the place. He was a volunteer in the defence of Fort Griswold. At the time of the massacre, he ran into the magazine, where he was severely wounded by an ounce musket ball striking the breast bone at an acute angle, passing across his body under the skin, along his extended left arm to the elbow, where it was taken out and was treasured in an old desk, till a young grandson, ignorant of its history, lost it as a sinker on his fish-line. He died December 31, 1816.

The Pension Report says: "William Starr, Q. M. 8<sup>th</sup> Regt Ct Militia placed on Pension Rolls Sept 6<sup>th</sup> 1788. Disabled Sept 6<sup>th</sup> 1781."

JOHN STARR, born January 16, 1743, was a brother of Lieutenant William. Had just returned from Nova Scotia, which he had been compelled to leave on account of his loyalty to the United Colonies; and in support of his love for them he entered the fort as a volunteer, where he received a wound which disabled his right arm for life. He afterward moved to Ohio, near Columbus, where he died in 1824.

THOMAS STARR, JR., one of the slain, was born January 16, 1743, the eldest child of Thomas, another brother.

NICHOLAS STARR, who was killed, was born in Norwich, January 10, 1741, but, living in Groton, was a volunteer. He was a cousin of William and John.

WILLIAM LATHAM, JR., a boy of twelve or fourteen, was taken to the fort by his father, Captain William Latham, who said "he might be serviceable in bringing ammunition from the magazine," hence he is spoken of in the traditions of the country as "Powder monkey." Being mustered with the rest of the prisoners, he asked the officer, "What are you going to do with me?" "Let you run home to your mother, sonny, if you'll promise not to grow up a d—d rebel," was the reply, which permit he accepted at once.

Mrs. Nathan Moore was sent by her husband, Capt. NATHAN MOORE, to Norwich on a barge on the ap-

proach of the enemy in the morning. She learned of his death in the afternoon, and as soon as possible obtained a horse and rode to Groton, where she arrived at twelve, midnight. He commanded a privateer, which was at that time lying in the harbor, he having a day or two before arrived with a prize. There is little doubt but his remains were interred in the Ledyard Cemetery.

JOSHUA BAKER, who was born 1752, lived near with his family; was one of the scouts sent out to reconnoitre the movements of the enemy; was shot at, but escaped into the fort. He was wounded in the massacre by the blow of a musket butt aimed at his head, but, throwing himself backward, received it by the side of his breast-bone, breaking all the ribs on that side loose from it, and felling him as if dead. From lack of attention the bones joined out of place, leaving his chest badly out of shape. A prisoner in the Sugar House in New York, he was set on shore in New Jersey and tramped home. Mr. Baker was under the command of Colonel Ledyard upwards of two years, and was the first man who stood sentry at Fort Griswold. He furnished most of the facts regarding this battle, as noted in "Barber's Historical Collections." He died February 18, 1836, aged eighty-four. His children were Joshua, Elisha, John, Daniel, Peter, and Annie. His brother, Andrew Baker, three years younger, was a member of the garrison, and was killed outright by his side during the fight. He lived in what is now Ledyard, and left a widow and one child.

August 15, 1781, LEVI DART, of Bolton, enlisted in the artillery company of Capt. Adam Shapley. On



the appearance of the enemy, Corporal Josiah Smith was ordered to select seven men to remain and spike the guns. Dart was one of these. When they attempted to follow their companions across the river they were captured, and sent on board the frigate *Amphion*; afterward taken to New York and confined in the Sugar House, where they remained until some time in October, when they were exchanged and landed at Elizabethtown. From here they marched, under command of Lieutenant Jabez Stow, to New London, by the way of Morristown, King's Ferry, and Bolton, returning to duty under a Lieutenant Durkee.

On expiration of his term of service he went to Coventry, Conn., and in 1800 to Springfield, Mass., where he was living in 1832, aged sixty-eight, as appears by his pension papers; among which is the statement of a friend, seventy-two years old, who, "living in Bolton in 1781, well knew Levi Dart, who, with Elias Dart, enlisted that year and went to New London in the latter part of the summer. It was reported and believed in Bolton that said Levi and Elias were both captured by the enemy in the attack on New London and Groton, and carried prisoners to New York city."

LIEUTENANT RICHARD CHAPMAN was of a fearless and resolute family: a younger brother, Edward, being killed in the French War; his older brother, Major James, Jr., being killed at Harlem Plains, September, 1776; while his younger brothers, John and Joseph, were captains in the sea and land service respectively. He enlisted at the commencement of the Revolutionary War, and, like his brothers, rose to a command. He lived in a house then standing on Hempstead

Street, nearly opposite Franklin Street, and was at home the night of September 5th. When he heard the alarm in the morning he went to an upper window looking down the harbor, and, seeing the enemy's vessels, ordered his sons, Richard and Daniel and David, to load the valuables in an ox-cart and take them, with their mother and two sisters, out to Cohanzie. He repaired to Fort Trumbull, where he was second in command. From there he crossed to Groton. When the next morning came, and with it no tidings of the lieutenant, Mrs. Chapman sent her sons to Groton to learn their father's fate, with instructions if he was dead and they were in doubt about his identity, to pull off his stockings and they would find a certain toe missing. This was what they were compelled to do, so disfigured with wounds and the stains of battle was the body.

Jonathan Brooks, whose narrative is given elsewhere, was a nephew of his, and received from his father, who was the coffin-maker of the town, a cap and sword of his uncle Richard, which Mrs. Danforth, his widow, still holds.

JOSHUA BILL, one of the brave and gallant defenders of Fort Griswold in the battle occurring September 6, 1781, was born May 14, 1762, and was a direct descendant of Philip Bill, who came to New London about 1668. We are not in possession of the particulars relating to the part he took in the sanguinary fight. He was at the date of that terrible day residing near Allyn's Point, and was probably one of the "minute men," and in response to the understood signal immediately proceeded to the fort, entering as one of the garrison, of which so many were destined to be

murdered in cold blood and so few to escape uninjured. During the British attack and struggle which followed he received a wound in the leg, and at the close of the conflict made his escape. He was the recipient of a government pension during the latter part of his life in consequence of the wound, which finally became painful and troublesome. After marriage with Abigail Miner he resided about a mile in a southerly direction from Meeting-House Hill, in Ledyard (formerly Groton). He was, we believe, a member of Elder Wightman's Church, and died December 20, 1841, in the eightieth year of his age, at the residence of his son Gordon, with whom he was then living. Of his children one is still living, namely, Betsey Bill Darrow, residing in New London.

JOHN DABOLL, a private of the 8th Regiment of Militia, came with others of his company at the first alarm. He was living at the time on the Providence turnpike, a mile and a half from the ferry, near what is now a family burial ground, in which he is buried.

Born February 13, 1751, a grandson of Samuel, who came from Easthampton, L. I., to Groton in 1718, he was a cousin of "Master Nathan Daboll," the author of the arithmetic and almanac, which bear the family name.

He was married in 1774, and had three children at the time of the battle; afterward, five others. His wife died April 2, 1803. In 1804 he married widow Sarah Halsey, by whom he had two sons, David Luther and William Vincent, both of whom are now living in Providence, R. I. The following incident was related to the writer by his father, who had it from the lips of the hero of this narrative.

His story is that after he was wounded in the hand, he was knocked down by a blow from the butt of a musket, and while lying faint and half senseless, a soldier covered him with his bayonet, threatening to run him through. At this moment a British officer, hearing him beg for his life, knocked the gun one side, and said, "There, you d—d rebel, I have saved your life." In a moment of gratitude he on his knees thanked his preserver, saying, "I thank you, sir; I thank you, sir." He was paroled, and met his anxious wife on the road waiting for news from the battle-field.

A leading Baptist, a member of Elder Wightman's church, he took an active part in the struggle that divided every town in the State previous to the adoption of the present Constitution, on the question of taxation for church uses, being elected a member of the constitutional convention in opposition to the then established order.

A justice of the peace, he was otherwise a prominent man in the councils of the town, until his death, which occurred May 7, 1825. E. V. D.

PETER RICHARDS, a son of Guy Richards, was a lieutenant under Captain Hinman in Paul Jones's old ship *Alfred*, when March 9, 1778, she was surrendered to the *Ariadne* and *Ceres*. He with two other lieutenants escaped from *Fortune Prison*, near Portsmouth, and by the aid of friends reached the coast of France in safety, and returned home in the spring of 1779. He was captain of the privateer brig *Hancock*, which arrived in port the last day of August. He entered the fort as a volunteer, at Colonel Ledyard's solicitation. On the morning of the battle he went aboard his vessel, called such of his crew as remained aboard, made a

short speech, telling what was needed at the fort, and asked for volunteers to accompany him. Every man stepped out.

He left a widow, Catharine (Mumford), and an only daughter, who married Levi Huntington of Norwich.

ELIJAH RICHARDS, born 1734, was wounded in the defence of New London, and died of his wounds September 20th. His house on Beach Street was burned. He was a cousin of Guy, the father of Peter.

Among the crew of the Hancock was CHRISTOPHER LATHAM, who, among other remembrances of the day, carried a musket-ball between the bones of his forearm the rest of his life. In the massacre he clinched and threw a man who came at him with a bayonet; but the bullet disabling one arm the Englishman got away, and knocked him senseless with the butt of his gun. Latham was paroled and left at home.

WILLIAM LATHAM, aged sixteen, from near Fort Hill, was wounded by a bayonet through the hand, in warding off the blow from his body, and carried to New York as prisoner. He died January 29, 1849, aged eighty-four. Of his thirteen children, all of whom lived to be married, six are now living in Groton, namely, Henry, Silas, James A., Abby Jane (Spicer), John D., and Hannah (Adams). The eldest of these was born in 1797 and the youngest in 1816.

RUFUS HURLBUT, son of John Hurlbut, from near "Hurlbut's," now Gale's, Ferry, lived at that time close to the present Gale's Ferry Church, and was a large landholder. He was killed after the surrender by a

bayonet wound in the breast. His widow died in 1826, aged eighty-nine. A large number of his descendants now live in the vicinity of Gale's Ferry.

SIMEON MORGAN, son of Captain Joseph Morgan and Dorothy Avery, was born in Groton in 1754. His eldest sister Dorothy was wife of John Lester, also one of the slain.

JOSEPH MORGAN 3D, born November, 1762, nephew of the Simeon above, was a soldier of the garrison, and was ordered to ride "express" to rouse the militia, since the alarm had been broken. On his return the fight was in progress, as I learn from his daughter, Mrs. Minerva Miner, of New London.

CARY LEEDS was one of the garrison, who, when the enemy obtained possession, leaped from the wall, cleared the ditch, outran his pursuers, and escaped, though severely wounded. He died December 28, 1781. See page 138.

ELIJAH BAILEY was ordered, with a man named Williams, to fire the field-piece in the redoubt at the east of the fort as long as possible, and then abandon it and come into the fort. Bailey stopped to spike the gun, and arrived after Williams had entered and the gate had been shut; so he ran down the hill, and secreted himself in a corn-field, thus saving his life. He was afterward postmaster of Groton for forty years.

EBENEZER FISH, living on Fort Hill, on being sure of an alarm, took his flint-lock gun and joined those in the fort. He was one of those carried away prisoners,

but was exchanged in about three months, still wearing the clothes he wore in the fight. His grandson recalls now the horror with which he used to speak of his loathsome condition. He moved to Ohio in 1823, where he died in 1827, aged seventy. There are still living in Brooklyn, Ohio, his children: Ebenezer, now ninety-six, who was a soldier in the War of 1812, and was with Perry on Lake Erie; Daniel, aged ninety-four; and Mrs. Eunice Fish Boyden, aged ninety-one.

DANIEL WILLIAMS. This boy was in Fort Griswold as a substitute for a man by the name of Kirtland, who had been drafted from the Saybrook Militia, but whose wife being sick, he was excused, and Williams accepted in his stead. The price of substitution was a hogshhead of cider, paid to his father by Kirtland.

He arrived at the fort only the day preceding the battle, and was killed by a rifle-shot while passing powder from the magazine to the artillerists before the assault.<sup>1</sup> He was the youngest of the garrison of whom there remains a record. His name does not appear upon the memorial tablet in the monument; why, is not understood. The only reason probable is either his late arrival, followed so soon by the battle, or being a substitute, his true name was not enrolled.

CAPTAIN JOHN WILLIAMS, one of the killed, was born April 5, 1739. Living near, he entered the fort as a volunteer, leaving his wife, who was a daughter of Elnathan Perkins, and children to look out for the property.

As soon as possible after the fight, his daughter Amey went to the fort, and sought out her father's body.

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<sup>1</sup> See Narrative of Andrew Gallup.

CAPTAIN HUBBARD BURROWS was ploughing when Edward Stanton and Thomas Williams rode up; assuring him the guns were an alarm, he left his oxen on the plough, ran to the house for his arms, mounted with his son John S., to bring back the horse. To his wife's inquiry, "When will you get back?" he replied, "Good-by. God knows!"

He was killed on the east parapet, by a shot through the head. He was found by his son the next day, after turning over twenty-seven bodies.

SAMUEL W. JAKES is said by his daughter, Mercy Jaques Burdick, of Rockville, R. I., to have been the only member of the garrison who escaped uninjured, he having killed his antagonist in a hand-to-hand conflict, and then fled, jumped from the wall, and got away undiscovered.

Mr. Burdick, referring to that event, says, "It was a source of grief to him in his last hours that he won his freedom by the death of one so young and beautiful."

He was born in Exeter, R. I., enlisted in the army when fourteen years old, and returned home after the war, a man grown. He married, and lived in Exeter until his death, at the age of sixty.

JOHN HOLT, we learn, was a ship-joiner, at that time store-keeper for John Deshon, from whose store he went with a lot of powder for the garrison, among whom he was slain.

HENRY MASON, of New London, like others, seeing the uselessness of fighting after the enemy were in the fort, jumped off the parapet and ran for his life, escaping with a slight bullet wound in the leg. He lived



for many years afterward, and followed his trade in New London, where he died April 24, 1836, aged seventy-seven.

BENAJAH HOLDRIDGE, it is said, seeing the fate of his friends, dropped among the dead and wounded, others falling on him. He lay there till he was taken up with the wounded and sent down the hill in the wagon, and lived many years near the Mystic and Stonington line.

Miss Caulkins says that some attempted to leap over the parapets, but were mostly arrested and slain. One man, by the name of Malleson,<sup>1</sup> escaped in this way; being tall, stout, and active, he leaped from the platform over the parapet, and with another bound cleared the pickets and came down in the ditch, and though half a dozen muskets were discharged at him he escaped unhurt.

DANIEL CHESTER, AND HIS BROTHERS CHARLES  
AND ELDREDGE.

DANIEL CHESTER, who was killed in the Massacre of Fort Griswold, September 6, 1781, was the son of Thomas Chester and Sarah (Eldredge) his wife. He was born December 15, 1754, at Groton, Conn. Thomas Chester, the father, was the son of John, who was the son of Samuel Chester, commander, owner, and factor in the West India trade, who came to New London from Boston in 1663; was made a freeman in New London, in 1669. He soon after moved to

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<sup>1</sup> This was Thomas Malleson, about twenty years old, a member of Captain Allyn's company. Samuel G. Allyn, of Ledyard, well remembers him.

Groton, where he was much employed in public surveys.

SAMUEL CHESTER was a man of much importance in the early history of New London, and from him were descended all the Chesters of this region, including his great grandsons Daniel, Charles, and Eldredge, heroes in the Groton Massacre.

DANIEL CHESTER, the subject of this sketch, was brought up on the Chester Farm, situated on the highest part of the hill, about one mile south of Fort Griswold. The old house, from which the brothers Daniel, Charles, and Eldredge went to the battle, still stands on its ancient site, one of the most ancient structures in the town. It had been the home of the Chester family since 1732, at which time John Chester, the grandfather of the heroes, purchased it of Jonathan Avery, Jr., who had received it from Jonathan Avery, Sen., by whom it was built. Daniel was one of the crew of the privateer *Minerva*, Captain Dudley Saltonstall, which captured the prize ship *Hannah*, bound to New York, richly laden with cotton, woollen, and silk goods, whose capture is thought to have incensed the British, and provoked the reprisal which resulted in the scenes of September 6.

"A Corte was held at New London Tho<sup>s</sup> Shaw Judge August 14—1790" inventories the estate of Mr. Daniel Chester, late of Groton, deceased, that was drawn from the ship *Hannah*, with the sterling price, to the amount of £59 15 5½.

A list of the articles assigned to Daniel as his share is in the possession of E. Starr Chester, of Waterford.

Daniel Chester hastened to the fort on the morning of September 6th, and was killed by a bayonet stab in

the massacre, after the surrender, being nearly twenty-seven years of age. He was unmarried.

CHARLES CHESTER was born November 27, 1756. His name does not appear in the list of killed and wounded, but it appears from the family records that he was in the fort, and was taken a prisoner to New York. Ebenezer Ledyard, Esq., brought him home soon after, with others of the prisoners whom the British gave up.

Augustin Chester, Esq., of Washington, D. C., his nephew, gives me the following account of Charles Chester's conduct in the battle:—

“Charles Chester, seeing his two brothers killed, retained his gun, and seeing that the massacre was mostly with bayonets, had his gun loaded and remained on the breastworks, where his brothers lately stood, and as one of the soldiers approached him with his gun for a bayonet thrust, he retreated to keep out of his reach, then jumped on to the barracks, when the soldier snapped his gun at him, but it missed fire, when, in the language of the old man, as he told me himself, ‘I did shoot him down.’ Then an officer called to him from below and asked him if he was not going to surrender. He replied, ‘Yes, if I can be protected, but not without.’ The officer told him to come down then and he should be protected. Seeing that this officer with some others were protecting all that came to them, he went down and gave up his gun.”

He married and lived in Preston, where he died in 1829, at the age of seventy-three.

Ensign ELDRIDGE CHESTER, the third brother, was born June 7, 1758. He was employed on his father's farm. At the sound of the alarm guns on the morning

of the 6th, he took his gun from the big beam in the old farm-house kitchen, and hastened, with his brothers, to the fort. He fell, wounded. Is supposed to be one of those who were gathered in the house of Ebenezer Avery, at the foot of the hill. He was shortly after taken to his father's house, where he lingered a sufferer through the autumn and a portion of the succeeding winter, and died of his injuries December 31, 1781, in his twenty-fourth year. He was unmarried.

On the list of *Connecticut Gazette* we find Jeremiah Chester; on that of Rufus Avery, Jedidiah Chester; while on the slab in the monument, Frederic Chester. Undoubtedly the Jeremiah and Jedidiah are identical, and refer to Jedidiah, a middle-aged son of Abraham. In answer to a question on this point the genealogist of the Chester family says: "I can find nothing in any records or in any memory of such a man as Frederic Chester, and can hardly believe there was such a man. I think it should have been Jedidiah instead of Frederic, on Groton Monument slab. The name seems to be found nowhere else with any authority."

We do not know from what authorities the list for the monument slab was made up, but at this date no trace of Frederic Chester, except his name on the monument, can be found.

J. J. C.

JOSEPH MOXLEY, born in Glasgow, Scotland, of a good Scotch family, arrived in Groton (now Ledyard) when he was eight months old.

At the time of the massacre he was a house-carpenter, at work on a new house for Jonathan Latham, not far from the Shore Line Ferry. He went into the fort as a volunteer, being the last man to go in by the north gate, those from Fort Trumbull coming in the

south one. His station was in the southwest bastion, next to Samuel Edgecomb. Wounded in the abdomen by a bayonet, he was one of those put in the wagon, and died that night. His wife was Elizabeth Horsford. Their children were Joseph, Jonathan, Samuel, Deborah, Elizabeth, and Esther, who married Moses Jones, a house-carpenter, who was also one of the killed, leaving two children, Esther and Deborah.

JOSEPH MOXLEY, JR., about nineteen years old, at work with his father as a carpenter, went also as a volunteer to the fort. He was one of those who attempted to save themselves in the magazine. He had a musket ball pass through his clothing across his stomach, cutting his vest in pieces, hurting him only by the shock. He afterward jumped off the wall and escaped.

JORDAN FREEMAN. He was the colored body servant of Colonel Ledyard, and was buried in the Ledyard Cemetery. He is credited with killing Major Montgomery with a spear, though in some accounts he divides that honor with Lieutenant Henry Williams.

LAMBO LATHAM. This name was given in several places in the first edition as Sambo. He was a negro living with Jonathan Latham, father of Captain William Latham, at their residence near the present Shore Line Ferry, in the house now owned and occupied by Colonel William Mitchell, a grandson of Captain William Latham. When the enemy landed at Eastern Point on the morning of the battle, and Captain Latham was hurrying away to Fort Griswold, he told his wife to take the children and servants away

through the Dark Hollow woods to the house of her uncle, Elder Park Avery, on the margin of Poquonoc Plains. The farm wagon was loaded up with them, and Lambo drove it over to Elder Avery's. A passenger in that wagon says that amongst the articles composing the load was a musket which Lambo took and hurried back with, following young William into the fort.

According to tradition in the Latham family, Lambo fought manfully by his master's side up to the time that he was slain. In the hottest of the conflict he stood near his master, loading and discharging his musket with great rapidity, even after he had been severely wounded in one of his hands. When Captain Latham exclaimed, "Stick to 'em, Lambo!" "Yes, massa, kill 'em every time!" was the brave man's reply. On the tablet in the monument he is put down under the now common negro name of Sambo.

ENSIGN CHARLES ELDREDGE,<sup>1</sup> JR., was born in Groton in 1743, where he was living in his house on the east side of Main Street, at the foot of Coon Hill, and keeping a store diagonally across the street south of his house. These were both burned.

The well at present in the street nearly in front of the location of his house, between that and his store, was dug by him; it is about forty feet deep, and for more than a century has slaked the thirst of man and beast.

An ensign in the local militia company, he entered the fort in response to the alarm. Here he was badly wounded in the knee by a bullet, and it is said afterward bought his life with a gold watch.

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<sup>1</sup> This name is also spelled Eldridge.



*Genl. Eldridge Linn*





He was married first in 1764 to Rachel Avery. It seems probable it was about this time the miniature was painted from which our portrait is copied, as it is accompanied by one of his Avery wife. In 1778 he married, for his second wife, Glorianna Havens. He was buried in the Eldredge burying ground, near the head of Mystic River, where his tombstone says:—

“CHARLES ELDRIDGE ESQ., after great suffering from a wound received in Fort Griswold Sept 6 1781 died Nov 20 1798 aged 55 years.”

His son William Eldridge was the last surviving one of the fire land commissioners, who surveyed and laid out in “New Connecticut,” the land allotted to the sufferers by Arnold’s wanton destruction of their property.

DANIEL ELDRIDGE, who was born December 24, 1758, was a brother of Ensign Charles; being also wounded, was carried away a prisoner, and returned home December 3d, sick, starved, and near dead. His family tried by careful feeding to restore him to health; but in a moment when they were off guard, he reached a bowl of “cider and suppawn,” which he drank at a draught, though the physician’s orders were a spoonful only at a time. This meal was too much for his exhausted system, and he died almost at once, December 11, 1781, leaving a widow Lucy (Stanton).

It seems highly probable there were two of this name in the battle, since the above account is from the lips of a granddaughter of Charles Eldridge, a most interesting lady over ninety years old, who remembers the incident as a part of her earliest recollections of the family history of their sufferings from the battle.

In the list of paroled wounded left at home we find,

"Daniel Eldridge shot through neck and face;" and the signature of Daniel Eldredge 1st appears in a petition of the wounded, addressed to the Legislature of January, 1782, whose committee's report on his case is given elsewhere.

In the list of recipients of fire lands we find—"Serg<sup>nt</sup> Daniel Eldridge," and "Daniel Eldridge," with losses of about the amount of others who we know were in the battle, whose loss consisted of the property they had with them. No list of prisoners carried away has ever been made. I think Daniel Eldridge, the brother of Charles, was one of these; and the Daniel Eldredge who is on the list of paroled and in the report of the committee is one with the man who I learn by another family history was wounded in the fort, but recovered, and afterwards died in the United States Naval service at Washington, D. C., and whose wife was Phoebe Franklin

SKETCH OF THE PERKINSES WHO WERE IN THE  
ACTION AT FORT GRISWOLD, SEPTEMBER 6TH, 1781.

LUKE PERKINS was, I think, the son of Luke Perkins, Esq., a local notable in his day in the town of Groton and vicinity. He, Luke Sen., was a prominent man in the Congregational Church, and held many public trusts. He died January 8, 1777, in the eighty-first year of his age. Luke Perkins, Jun., appears on a rate-bill of the town of Groton, in 1768, with an estate of £4. He was a soldier in the second company or train band under Captain Robert Allyn, April 22, 1749; but otherwise I find no trace of him. The place of his burial is unknown.

ELNATHAN PERKINS was a well to do farmer in his

day, living upon what is now known as *Brier Hill*, in the Second School District of Groton. His house was situated near what was the residence of the late Captain Levi Perkins. Elnathan had two wives: the first, *Mary*, died December 18, 1776, aged fifty-five years; the second, *Freelove*, formerly the widow of Benjamin Bailey, died 1794, aged seventy-five.

Elnathan and wife, "owned the covenant," in the Congregational Church of Groton, of which Rev. John Owen was pastor, on April 1, 1739.

His children were regularly brought in infancy to the altar of the church to receive the rite of baptism. We find such entries as these in the ancient records of the church, in the handwriting of John Owen:—

"Elisha son of Elnathan Perkins was baptized in infancy April 5<sup>th</sup> 1747

"Asa son of Elnathan Perkins was baptized in infancy May 28 — 1749."

Elnathan's name is found on the rate-bill of the town in 1768, taxed on £69 4 shillings.

Elnathan, on the morning of the battle, went into the fort with four sons: Obadiah, Elisha, Asa, and Luke Jr. The three latter were killed, and Luke Jr. and Asa are buried beside him in the Starr Burying Ground. Elisha, who was a married man, is buried in the same ground beside his two infant children, Elisha and Mary; near him lies "Sarah Wood, relict of William Wood, formerly the widow of Elisha Perkins, who died June 26, 1824, aged seventy years." Elisha appears in the rate-bill of 1768, rated at £18.

SIMEON PERKINS, who was killed in the fort at the age of twenty-two years, was the son of the Solomon, who was wounded. He was baptized in infancy on

June 15, 1760, Rev. Jonathan Barber being pastor of the church ; he is buried beside Elisha.

SOLOMON PERKINS, who was wounded, was the son of Luke ; he was baptized in infancy August 24, 1729. He lived at Long Cove, on the Point, where his grandson, John E. Perkins, now resides ; his son Simeon was killed in the massacre. He was a lieutenant in the militia in 1768, and captain at the time of the battle. In the rate-bill of 1768 he is put down for tax on £65. He died November 4, 1809, in the eighty-first year of his age. He is buried in the Starr Cemetery, and was a brother of Luke, Elnathan, and Ebenezer, and they were all the sons of Esq. Luke.

EBENEZER PERKINS is put in the rate-bill, in 1768, at £72 10 shillings. He owned his baptismal covenant in the Congregational Church in Groton, April 14, 1751 ; he died December 1, 1806, in the eighty-seventh year of his age. His widow, Sarah Perkins, died November 14, 1820, aged ninety-five years, and is buried beside him in the Starr Cemetery.

OBADIAH PERKINS, son of Elnathan, was baptized in infancy May 10, 1741. In 1768 he is entered in the rate-bill for £45 16 shillings. He lived on Brier Hill, in Groton, on land now owned by Russel Perkins, and occupied by his son Simeon, and near the dwelling-house of Silas Bailey, a grandson of Obadiah. Obadiah was twice married. He was wounded in the side with three bayonet stabs ; was one of those placed in the cart and run down the hill. He died December 4, 1812, aged seventy-two years, and is buried in the Starr Cemetery.

From all I can gather the Perkinses who were at Fort Griswold all resided in the Second School District, Groton; they were landholders, and regular attendants of the church under the ministries of Revs. John Owen, Jonathan Barber, and Aaron Kinne, and were upright, useful, and respected members of society. J. J. C.

JOHN CLARK, a volunteer from New London, is said to have crossed in an open boat with a bag of musket cartridges, which he carried up the hill on his shoulder to the fort; but as he got on the north side of it the enemy came around the northeast corner and shot him just outside the gate.

WAIT LESTER, one of the slain, was the second son of Thomas and Mary (Allyn) Lester; he was born December, 1759. They had a son Daniel who was born March 27, 1763. I am unable to learn if this is the Daniel who was killed.

THOMAS WELLES, born in Groton, September 12, 1753, we learn from the family history, had been a very successful privateersman, — on part of his voyages at least; but in September, 1781, was a gunner in the garrison at Fort Griswold. He was taken prisoner, carried to New York, from whence he returned to duty in November. He was granted a pension in 1831, and died in Groton in 1848.

Dr. ELISHA MORGAN, born in Groton, March 7, 1762, was one of the defenders of the fort who, after the enemy gained possession, feigned dead among the dead and wounded so well that he was kicked and plundered

without the deceit being detected. He heard the plans for blowing up the fort, and after the enemy had left aided in frustrating their plans. He died at sea, in a voyage from Demerara, in April 1, 1796, leaving four children.

JOHN MORGAN, a brother-in-law of Elisha above, used to relate how he came by his own wound. He and a comrade got on to the parapet for better range and opportunity to fire, when his companion said, "There, now, John, we've a good chance at them." But they soon found the good chances were pretty evenly divided, as "John" received a ball in his knee, which gave him a stiff leg, and afterward a pension, while his comrade, whose name could not be recalled, was killed outright. John, on the death of his sister and her husband, took charge of the family, and reared them as his own. He died in 1840, a bachelor.

SYLVESTER WALWORTH, who was a volunteer living on the north side of Fort Hill, was buried in the Ledyard Cemetery. His grave is known to have been left unprovided with memorial stones.

BENONI KENSON, credited to New London. No representative of the family has resided in the neighborhood for many years. He is said to have been a sailor attached to one of the privateer vessels lying in the harbor at the time, and volunteered for the defence of the fort. If so he was doubtless interred in the Old Ground at New London.

JONATHAN BUTLER, known to have been buried in the last-named ground.

ELIAS COIT and BARNEY KINNEY, buried in the First Ground at New London.

SERGEANT JOHN STEDMAN. Nothing is known of him save that he died in the fort. His friends suppose him to have been buried in the Old Ground, east of and near Gale's Ferry.

SERGEANT EZEKIEL BAILEY. Probably buried in the Starr Ground.

SERGEANT CHRISTOPHER AVERY. His descendants suppose him to have been interred at Poquonoc with his family.

CORPORAL EDWARD MILLS. In the Old Ground on "Whitman Meeting-House Hill."

CORPORAL NATHAN SHOLES. Nothing definite can be learned of him. He is supposed, however, by old inhabitants to have been buried in the Sandy Hollow Ground, in Ledyard, near which his family resided.

PHILLIP COVIL. Of this man nothing can be learned.

DAVID SEABURY, a relative of Bishop Seabury. The family lived in Ledyard, near Poquetanock, where his unmarked grave is supposed to be.

JOHN BROWN. Nothing known.

SAMUEL HILL. Nothing known of him; probably a transient inhabitant of Groton.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix.

JONAS LESTER. Probably buried near his cousin, Ensign John Lester, in the "Sandy Hollow" Ground. Nothing definite known.

JOHN BILLINGS is thought to have belonged to North Stonington. Nothing can be ascertained regarding the place of his sepulture.

JOSEPH WEDGER, SAMUEL BILLINGS, and ELIDAY JONES, unknown.

DANIEL DAVIS and DANIEL B. LESTER, unknown. So far as can be ascertained, Lester was not connected with the families to which John, Jonas, and Wait belonged.

WILLIAM COMSTOCK, a member of Captain Shapley's company, was probably buried in the Comstock Ground in Montville.

SOLOMON TIFT appears in the list of killed in the *Connecticut Gazette* of September 21, 1781. If this is correct, there certainly were two of that name. His name is not on the tablet in the monument, which may be accounted for by the known fact of there being a Solomon Tift who had been a privateersman, and was in the harbor and entered the fort as a volunteer. He was carried a prisoner to New York. His wife, a sister of Capt. Hubbard Burrows, went to the fort to search for him among the dead and wounded, the scenes of which search she often described to her grandson, Hon. Nelson Tift, of Albany, Georgia. He received a pension for almost half a century, being the last Revolutionary pensioner in Groton. His descend-



ants recollect well his description of his sufferings on the prison-ship. Two of his daughters are living, Mrs. Capewell, of Voluntown, and Mrs. Nicholas Starr, of McGrawville, Cortland County, N. Y.

I have been unable to find any trace of any family tradition regarding the one said to have been killed.

JOSHUA WHEELER, of Stonington, also of the garri-son, had his left arm broken above the elbow, September 5, while wrestling with a fellow-soldier. He was sent home at once on sick leave, thus escaping the chances of the massacre. His arm, either from improper setting or lack of proper care, became somewhat crooked. If attention was called to it in any way, his remark was in substance, "It does not look so well as the other one, but getting that twist in it saved my life."

One of the wounded, supposed to be dead, had on a new pair of shoes with silver buckles. These were coveted by the soldiers, so they were pulled off at once. The first man tried them on, but threw them down in disgust. A second, with larger feet, tried them, and passed them to a third as not suited to his needs. This man, after trial, threw the shoes on the ground, exclaiming, with an oath, "They are too big for any decent man!"

LIEUTENANT PARKE AVERY, born March 22, 1741, eldest son of Elder Parke Avery, lived at Dunbar's Mill at that time, and after his father's death in the old Avery House, on Poquonoc Plains. He received a number of wounds, the most serious being in the forehead. His last recollection of the fight is of de-

fending himself with his sword against two men with bayonets, when a blow came on his head. He was evidently bayoneted by a man on the parapet above him, as the blow split the forehead, took out the eye and the bone over the eye, leaving the brain exposed, and a deep furrow up and down the forehead after the wound was healed. He was left for dead, and came to his senses as he was being carried out on the shoulders of those who were collecting the bodies. His abrupt and military order, "Keep step, d—n it, — keep step, boys! You shake me," was rather startling from a corpse. The sword he is said to have used on that occasion is in possession of one of his descendants, Jefferson Avery, of New London. His son Thomas, born in 1764, was killed bravely fighting by his side during the assault. See note, p. 50.

ENSIGN EBENEZER AVERY, brother of Lieutenant Parke Avery, lived with his family in the house now at the foot of Latham Street, where he carried on his trade as tailor.

He went into the fort early in the morning, and took an active part in the preparations for defence. He was severely wounded by a shot through the lower part of the neck, cutting the cords, and leaving him senseless as one of the dead. He recovered, with the loss of his hearing, and lived many years after.

It was to his house at the foot of the Heights that the wounded from the wagon were taken, he among the number. The blood stains are still visible on its oaken floor, as he would not allow them washed out in his day, which ended January 11, 1828, at the age of eighty-one.

JASPER AVERY, another brother, born 1743, lived on

the Poquonoc Plains, near the old Avery homestead. On hearing the alarm guns he responded, participated in the defence, and was carried back a corpse upon the shoulders of his neighbors the next morning.

ELISHA, the youngest of these brothers, was born in 1755, but had already attained the rank of captain. He was unmarried.

PARKE AVERY, SEN., universally called Elder Parke, the father of these soldiers, was one of if not the most prominent citizen of Groton for many years, from being a man of wealth, and having taken the initiative in a very bitter fight against the "established order" in ecclesiastical matters. He was a man of wonderful energy and activity, in which qualities his sons were not deficient.

CHRISTOPHER AVERY, the son of George and Eunice Avery, was born September 6, 1760. He went to the fort in response to the signal, in spite of the protest of his family, and was slain on his twenty-first birthday.

CAPTAIN ELIJAH AVERY, buried in the Poquonoc Ground, by the side of David, was the second son of John, and was born in 1733. He was a man of wealth for that time, and his descendants are numerous in Groton.

AMOS AVERY, the youngest brother of the above, born March 6, 1743, was wounded and paroled.

DAVID AVERY, the son of the fourth James Avery, was the oldest of the name who participated in the

battle, and was born in 1727. He is buried in the Old Ground at Poquonoc, where his tombstone, elaborate for those times, gives evidence of his wealth and the estimation in which he was held. His brother John had a son Peter taken prisoner, and James had two sons carried away, but all returned.

LIEUTENANT EBENEZER AVERY, the eldest son of Ebenezer, who was a brother of the fourth James above, was born March 7, 1732, and married Phebe Denison, the daughter of his step-mother, 1761. His tombstone is in the "Packer's Rocks" or Ledyard Cemetery.

ENSIGN DANIEL AVERY, the second son of Benjamin and Thankful Avery, was born in Groton, November 14, 1740. On hearing the alarm he mounted, with his son Daniel, Jr., behind, to bring back the horse, and rode to the fort. His son returned home, and the next day returned with a team to bear away the body of his father.

SOLOMON AVERY, the next younger brother of Daniel, was born in 1748. He is buried beside his brother Daniel in the Old Ground at Poquonoc. Sarah, their sister, was the wife of Captain Hubbard Burrows, one of the slain.

PETER AVERY, the eldest son of John, whose brother David was killed, was born May 10, 1764, and lived with his father near Centre Groton. He was taken prisoner to New York, and, as an example of their sufferings from hunger, often spoke of the most delicious morsel he *ever* eat during his life being two raw pota-

toes he stole from the basket of an old cook while in captivity. In 1787 he married Hannah, the daughter of Lieutenant Parke Avery.

RUFUS AVERY'S ACCOUNT OF HIS TIME OF SERVICE IN  
THE ARMY DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

I enlisted under Capt Abel Spicer (May) 1776 for to join the Continental Army at New York, 6 mos.

In the year 1777 I was drafted Jany 1 to serve to due a tour of duty under Capt Peleg Noyes at Fort Griswold, 3 mos.

The same year the last of July, I was drafted to go to the Northard with Capt Prentice to join General Gates Army, 3 mos

In the year 1778 (in January) I was drafted to serve a tour of duty under Capt Joseph Gallup at Fort Griswold, 2 mos.

In the year 1779 (in January) I was drafted to do a tour of duty under Lieut Thompson at Fort Griswold, 3 mos.

In 1780 the 16<sup>th</sup> day of November I was 22 Years old and about that time I enlisted and joined Capt W<sup>m</sup> Lathams Company of Artillery to do orderly sergeants duty in said Company in Fort Griswold, made a prisoner 6<sup>th</sup> of September by the british fleet and was exchanged in about 13 days and returned home to my duty at Fort Griswold and served out my Year, & then had an honorable discharge from the Company.

Rufus Avery died at Groton July 30, 1842, aged 83 years, 8 mos, and 14 days.

In his written account of this New York Campaign, he speaks of his companions Lieut Parke Avery, Serg<sup>t</sup> John Stedman, and Elisha Avery, all of whom were also in Fort Griswold, the last two being killed.

CALEB AVERY, the son of James and Elizabeth (Allyn) Avery, was born February 25, 1760, the next younger brother of Rufus Avery, whose narrative is given elsewhere. He was living near the present location of the navy yard, and entered the fort as a volunteer, and was stationed near the southeast corner of the works. Seeing the treatment accorded to the garrison he fled to the magazine; as he was turning to enter he saw the killing of Ledyard, as heretofore described. He was not wounded, and was taken a prisoner to New York, and confined in the old Sugar House, but returned home late in the fall, as I learn from his daughter, Mrs. Eliza Avery Williams, now living on Groton Bank. His wife was Mary Avery, a sister of Peter, also one of the prisoners.

These Averys are all descended from James Avery, born in England 1620, died in Poquonoc 1694, in a house still standing. This ancient dwelling stands at the head of Poquonoc Plains, and is owned and occupied by James D. Avery, the town clerk of Groton. It is now in good repair, and the timbers are as sound apparently as when cut in the primeval forest, in 1656 or 7, by James Avery. In 1684 he bought for £6 the first church in New London, which had stood about thirty years, took it down and transported it across the river, and added it to his house, where nearly a century later it was again used as a house of worship by Elder Parke Avery, the great grandson of James, and leader of "The Separates." It has been aptly called the "hive of the Averys," having been the home of the Avery family for eight successive generations in regular order of descent from father to son: 1. James; 2. James; 3. Ebenezer; 4. Elder Parke; 5. Lieutenant Parke; 6. Youngs; 7. Parke; and 8. James D., the present occupant.



THE OLD SCHOOL HOUSE





EBENEZER LEDYARD, the eldest of the Ledyard brothers, — Ebenezer, John, Youngs, and William, — was a ship-owner and West India merchant of wealth and influence. His position was such that in the common accounts of the time his given name is hardly ever used, being always called "Squire Ledyard." A very public spirited man, he was among those foremost in all actions tending to help the Colonies to success; perhaps nothing can be quoted more characteristic of the man than the action described by Rufus Avery in his account: "Captain Bloomfield paroled the wounded men who were left and took Ebenezer Ledyard Esq<sup>r</sup> as a hostage for them left on parole to see them forthcoming if called for." Here he is seen daring to brave the dangers of the British Prison Ship that his wounded friends and neighbors might have the care of their friends in their sufferings. Nothing would have been easier than to have fled and left the wounded to look out for themselves, as many if not all did. Stephen Hempstead speaks of the same circumstance, and also of the fact of his procuring a sentinel to guard the wounded from molestation until the last of the enemy embarked.

His house and all other property burnable was destroyed by fire: such a prominent and efficient enemy must be made to suffer as much as possible. In the fire land awards his loss is much the largest of any one in Groton, the entire allowance not amounting to seven times his.

His children by two marriages were thirteen sons.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM LATHAM, of Groton, was with Washington on Dorchester Heights, as a lieutenant of artillery in 1775, and was the captain of artillery com-

manding Fort Griswold, as Captain Shapley commanded Fort Trumbull, at the time of the battle on Groton Heights.

Colonel Ledyard, commanding the military district, did not take special command at Fort Griswold until the morning of the 6th. It was customary in those days for the commander of a battery to prime each gun from his own powder-horn, and that of Lieutenant Latham, used by him at Dorchester, is still in existence as an heir-loom in the family. It has a good sketch of Boston harbor, with the British fleet riding at anchor, as seen from Dorchester Heights at that time, — evidently cut with a pocket knife, but remarkable for its accuracy, — with a statement that it was done by Lieutenant William Latham at Dorchester Heights in 1775. He was a son of Deacon Jonathan Latham.

CAPTAIN SAMUEL ALLYN, born at Allyn's Point, November 21, 1734, married Mary Wood, December, 1757. He had seen service in the field, and was then captain of militia and one of the selectmen of the town. He lived at the time in the house in Ledyard now occupied by his grandson of the same name. He was sowing rye in his field, and, on hearing the alarm, immediately saddled his horse and rode to the house of his ensign, Amos Lester, and with him rode to the old Wood House on the North Lane, where they left their horses. After death he was robbed of his coat, sword, belt, knee and shoe buckles. Mrs. Eunice Wood (from whose house he was buried), a sister of Captain Allyn, then living near the North Lane school-house, went into the fort the next morning after the battle to assist in caring for the dead and wounded soldiers, some of whose mouths were full of dirt, they having literally "bit the dust."

AMOS LESTER, ensign under Captain Samuel Allyn, who was born in the house opposite the Starr Burial Ground, was wounded in the hip, recovered, and lived for forty years after, though he was one of those loaded so carelessly in the wagon.

JOSEPH LEWIS, a blacksmith of Groton, lieutenant with Captain Samuel Allyn, was also killed.

CAPTAIN SIMEON ALLYN, born at Allyn's Point, May 27, 1745, was a cousin of Captain Samuel Allyn, and married Esther Gallup, September 1, 1771. He had belonged to the army, but was at home and in command of a local company. His tombstone stands as proof of how well he rallied his men and with what determined valor they fought under their trusted leader.

Hearing the alarm he responded at once, as did the son of his brother Robert, BENADAM, born December 16, 1761, who, inspired by the same feelings, shared the dangers of the defence, and was also killed, together with BELTON ALLYN, son of Deacon Joseph, brother of Robert and Simeon.

On the morning of the battle this young man, in company with his cousin, Benadam, started for the fort in answer to the signal guns, as he had often before done. On their way they called upon a sister of Benadam, who was teaching school near Gale's Ferry. To her anxious inquiry of where they were going so early with their guns, Benadam replied, "Down to the training to see the fun." "You will never come back alive," said she, and burst into tears. Belton was killed on the ramparts soon after entering the works, and before the storm.

On learning of his departure, his father armed him-

self, and, mounting his horse, followed as rapidly as possible to share his danger; but on his arrival found the fort invested, and he was compelled, through the long hours of dreadful suspense, to await within hearing the result of the conflict to find at last his only son a corpse, when he took the body home on his own saddle; thus the first tidings his mother had of his death was seeing his dead body.

NATHANIEL ADAMS lived in the section of Groton known as "Gungawamp," where in a thickly-wooded valley is a rough, uncut slab of granite upon which are rudely engraved the initials N A. Tradition says this stone was prepared by Adams previous to his death, and after that event, in accordance with his desire, it was placed by his friends at his grave. He is said by his descendants to have been at one time wealthy, but reduced to straitened circumstances by his patriotism, and to have been well known at that time as a brother of John Adams, who afterward became second President of the United States.

CAPTAIN ELIAS H. HALSEY was captain of a privateer brig lying in the harbor. He was probably from Bridgehampton, Long Island, where many of the name still reside.

JOHN WHITTLESEY, aged twenty-three, and his half brother, STEPHEN WHITTLESEY, sixteen, although originally credited to New London, are known to have belonged to that part of Saybrook now constituting the town of Westbrook. They were drafted from the militia of that town for the defence of New London harbor, and were members of Captain Shapley's company

of artillery, stationed in Fort Trumbull, and crossed with him to Fort Griswold, where they were stationed in the southwest bastion.

John was shot through the forehead at his post. Stephen was killed by a bayonet thrust during the massacre about the door of the magazine. Their family traditions are that they were barbarously bayoneted after death. John had one child at the time of his death; another, also a son, was born October, 1781. Their burial place is not definitely known, but it is highly probable that it is near that of an elder brother (Joseph), whose monument is found in the cemetery at Westbrook Village.

#### THE STANTONS.

In the heroic struggles of our country for independence and her just civil privileges, the citizens of Groton and Stonington always stood ready to render their quota of means and men. In the latter town the names of families are not few that deserve honorable mention for their prompt patriotism and earnest devotion to liberty. Among these the name of Stanton, a family that Stonington has much occasion to honor, frequently occurs on the civil and military rolls of the town. THOMAS STANTON, the Indian interpreter for Winthrop in 1636, was among the first white men who settled on the banks of the Pawcatuck. He is a historic character, and his posterity were largely represented in this sanguinary battle. DANIEL STANTON one of his descendants, was an officer in the French and Indian wars, and his sword is still shown by his great-grandson, who bears his name.

WILLIAM STANTON commanded the fifth company of

Stonington militia from 1774 to 1784, and was a worthy officer.

No one among the heroes that fell at Groton Heights, in military experience and ability, surpassed Captain AMOS STANTON. He had been in actual service in the cause of the Colonies almost from the commencement of hostilities with the mother country, and was an accomplished soldier. He had become distinguished not only as a military man but as a patriot, devoted to the interests of his country. At the time of the battle and massacre at Fort Griswold he held the rank of captain in the Continental Army, and was home on a furlough. Hearing the alarm guns on the morning of the battle, he hastened to the fort, and was warmly welcomed by Ledyard and his brave compatriots. During the councils of war held by the officers of the fort on the morning of the 6th, he favored a different line of defence than the one adopted by his brother officers. His plan was to meet and skirmish with the British troops as soon after their landing as would bring them into the woodland near the shore. By skilfully manœuvring his men, he could make his force appear far more formidable than it really was, and by skirmishing with the enemy and holding them in check he would be joined by all the volunteers who were constantly arriving, some of whom refused to enter the fort, where, in case of defeat, there was no escape. But his opinions were overruled, and the result is known.

The possession of great physical power and activity, with a firmness and courage that nothing could daunt, fitted him for a military leader. But what could personal prowess and superhuman strength do against an overwhelming disciplined force. Finding that the gar

rison were to be put to the sword, he rushed among the enemy and sold his life at a fearful cost, and finally sank to the earth riddled with bayonets and bullets. Captain Stanton descended from a noble line of ancestors. Paternally he descended from the famous Indian warrior, Captain George Denison, and from Thomas Stanton, the interpreter-general of New England. Maternally he descended from John Alden, of the Mayflower, through his son David Alden, who married Mary Southworth, daughter of Constant Southworth, who descended from Sir Gilbert Southworth, Knight, of Southworth Hall, England. — R. A. W.

Captain PHINEAS STANTON had two sons slain in the fort, — Lieutenant ENOCH and Sergeant DANIEL.

ENOCH was second in command in Fort Griswold. He had served with the same rank in the Continental Army till his pay was insufficient to meet the demands of his family, when he resigned and came home. After a while he was by improvements in his fortune able to offer himself and be accepted for the post he was filling at the time of his death. He left a widow and seven children, in the language of the official report, "with no personal estate more than enough to pay the debts; a goldsmith, and depended upon his trade to support his family." DANIEL was unmarried, but affianced to a young lady, to whom a few days before he had presented a pattern of splendid brocade silk for her wedding dress, which he had taken from the prize ship Hannah, as a part of his share of her cargo. The bodies of these men were taken the next day to the house of their father, and laid in the room where they were born. They were buried in the old Stanton Burial Place in one grave, among their ancestors, who

distinguished themselves as among the noblest of ante-Revolutionary patriots.

Daniel Stanton had also two sons in the battle, DANIEL and EDWARD, who were severely wounded. Of these it is related that on the morning of the 6th, as soon as they heard the alarm, they hastened over eleven miles to their perilous posts, and were in time to play heroically their part in the tragedy. Daniel received a painful bullet wound in the leg and twenty gashes from English cutlasses or bayonets,<sup>1</sup> and was one of those sent down the hill in the wagon. He survived his wounds, and lived till January 4, 1826, when he died, aged seventy-seven. Edward was shot in the left breast by a musket-ball,<sup>2</sup> which tore his side so that the heart was visible to the physician who had charge of him during his convalescence.

After the massacre, while he lay bleeding, an English officer passed, of whom he begged for something to stanch the flow of blood. The compassionate officer, whose name he never knew, took from his pocket a knitted linen night-cap, and, folding it together, stopped the flow of blood, and gave him a drink of water. By this humane act his life was saved.

The vest worn by Mr. Stanton, showing two bullet-tracks, — the lower of which did not go through his under-clothing, the upper bullet being the one which laid bare his heart, — and also the linen night-cap, are now in possession of his son David, who cherishes them, together with the sword of his great-grandfather, as mementos of the patriotism of his ancestors.

Subsequently, when nearly thirty-three years later the British ships made an attack on Stonington, in

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<sup>1</sup> See page 133.

<sup>2</sup> See page 131.



August, 1814, Edward again hurried to the front as a volunteer, where all were volunteers, and worked together with such zeal and skill, that with two eighteen-pounders they drove off the attacking fleet.

When President Monroe made his tour through New England he visited Stonington, and at the old arsenal was introduced to this Revolutionary hero. The President remarked to him, "Our independence cost us many a hard blow." Mr. Stanton replied, laying bare his aged bosom, purpled and drawn with the scar, "Here was one of them." The circumstance is mentioned by the President in the description of his tour. Mr. Stanton received a pension for his services, and survived till 1832, when he died at the age of seventy-one, leaving three children who still survive him.





# NAMES OF THE HEROES WHO FELL AT FORT GRISWOLD, SEPTEMBER 6, 1781.

COLLECTED AND ARRANGED BY CHARLES ALLYN.

Lieutenant-Colonel WILLIAM LEDYARD, Commanding.

|                                              |             |
|----------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Captain Elijah Avery . . . . .               | Groton.     |
| Captain Elisha Avery . . . . .               | Groton.     |
| Lieutenant Ebenezer Avery . . . . .          | Groton.     |
| Ensign Daniel Avery . . . . .                | Groton.     |
| Sergeant Christopher Avery . . . . .         | Groton.     |
| Sergeant Jasper Avery . . . . .              | Groton.     |
| Sergeant Solomon Avery . . . . .             | Groton.     |
| David Avery . . . . .                        | Groton.     |
| Thomas Avery . . . . .                       | Groton.     |
| Captain Samuel Allyn . Ledyard . . . . .     | Groton.     |
| Captain Simeon Allyn . Ledyard . . . . .     | Groton.     |
| Belton Allyn . . . . Ledyard . . . . .       | Groton.     |
| Benadam Allyn . . . . Ledyard . . . . .      | Groton.     |
| Nathaniel Adams <sup>1</sup> . . . . .       | Groton.     |
| Captain Hubbard Burrows . . . . .            | Groton.     |
| Sergeant Ezekiel Bailey . . . . .            | Groton.     |
| Corporal Andrew Billings . Ledyard . . . . . | Groton.     |
| Andrew Baker . . . . Ledyard . . . . .       | Groton.     |
| John P. Babcock . . . . .                    | Groton.     |
| John Billings . . . . .                      | Preston.    |
| Samuel Billings . . . . .                    | Groton.     |
| William Bolton . . . . .                     | New London. |
| John Brown . . . . .                         | Groton.     |
| Jonathan Butler . . . . .                    | Saybrook.   |
| Lieutenant Richard Chapman . . . . .         | New London. |

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<sup>1</sup> This name is Nathan in some accounts.

*Names of Heroes who fell at Fort Griswold.* 267

|                                                     |              |
|-----------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Sergeant Eldredge Chester . . . . .                 | Groton.      |
| Daniel Chester . . . . .                            | Groton.      |
| Jedidiah Chester <sup>1</sup> . . . . .             | Groton.      |
| Frederic Chester <sup>2</sup> . . . . .             | Groton.      |
| John Clark . . . . .                                | New London.  |
| Elias Coit <sup>3</sup> . . . . .                   | New London.  |
| Lieutenant James Comstock . . . . .                 | New London.  |
| William Comstock . . . . .                          | Saybrook.    |
| Philip Covill . . . . .                             | Groton.      |
| Daniel Davis . . . . .                              | Groton.      |
| Daniel Eldredge <sup>4</sup> . . . . .              | Groton.      |
| Jordan Freeman (colored) . . . . .                  | Groton.      |
| Captain Elias Henry Halsey <sup>5</sup> . . . . .   | Long Island. |
| Samuel Hill . . . . . Ledyard . . . . .             | Groton.      |
| John Holt, Jr. . . . .                              | New London.  |
| Sergeant Rufus Hurlburt . . . . . Ledyard . . . . . | Groton.      |
| Eliday Jones . . . . .                              | Groton.      |
| Moses Jones . . . . . Ledyard . . . . .             | Groton.      |
| Benoni Kenson . . . . .                             | New London.  |
| Barney Kinney <sup>6</sup> . . . . .                | New London.  |
| Captain Youngs Ledyard . . . . .                    | Groton.      |
| Captain Cary Leeds <sup>7</sup> . . . . .           | Groton.      |
| Lieutenant Joseph Lewis . . . . . Ledyard . . . . . | Groton.      |
| Ensign John Lester . . . . . Ledyard . . . . .      | Groton.      |
| Daniel D. Lester <sup>8</sup> . . . . .             | Groton.      |
| Jonas Lester . . . . .                              | Groton.      |
| Wait Lester . . . . .                               | Groton.      |
| Thomas Lamb . . . . .                               | Groton.      |

<sup>1</sup> I find this name in the list prepared by Rufus Avery, and also that by Benadam Gallup; also, see page 22, Jeremiah, but not on the monument.

<sup>2</sup> This name is on the monument; no trace elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> On the monument slab as Ellis.

<sup>4</sup> Wounded; carried away prisoner; returned sick, and died December 11. Not on the monument.

<sup>5</sup> On the monument Henry Halsey.

<sup>6</sup> On the monument Kenny.

<sup>7</sup> This man was wounded, and died December 28. See page 138. Not on the monument.

<sup>8</sup> On monument Daniel C.

|                              |   |         |         |   |             |
|------------------------------|---|---------|---------|---|-------------|
| Lambo Latham (colored)       | . | .       | .       | . | Groton.     |
| Captain Nathan Moore         | . | .       | .       | . | Groton.     |
| Corporal Edward Mills        | . | .       | .       | . | Groton.     |
| Corporal Simeon Morgan       | . | Ledyard | .       | . | Groton.     |
| Thomas Miner <sup>1</sup>    | . | .       | Ledyard | . | Groton.     |
| Joseph Moxley                | . | .       | Ledyard | . | Groton.     |
| Corporal Luke Perkins, Jr.   | . | Ledyard | .       | . | Groton.     |
| David Palmer                 | . | .       | .       | . | Groton.     |
| Elisha Perkins               | . | .       | Ledyard | . | Groton.     |
| Luke Perkins                 | . | .       | Ledyard | . | Groton.     |
| Asa Perkins                  | . | .       | Ledyard | . | Groton.     |
| Elnathan Perkins             | . | .       | Ledyard | . | Groton.     |
| Simeon Perkins               | . | .       | Ledyard | . | Groton.     |
| Captain Peter Richards       | . | .       | .       | . | New London. |
| Captain Adam Shapley         | . | .       | .       | . | New London. |
| Captain Amos Stanton         | . | Ledyard | .       | . | Groton.     |
| Lieutenant Enoch Stanton     | . | .       | .       | . | Stonington. |
| Sergeant Daniel Stanton      | . | .       | .       | . | Stonington. |
| Sergeant John Stedman        | . | Ledyard | .       | . | Groton.     |
| Sergeant Nicholas Starr      | . | .       | .       | . | Groton.     |
| Corporal Nathan Sholes       | . | Ledyard | .       | . | Groton.     |
| Thomas Starr, Jr.            | . | .       | .       | . | Groton.     |
| David Seabury                | . | .       | Ledyard | . | Groton.     |
| Captain John Williams        | . | .       | .       | . | Groton.     |
| Lieutenant Henry Williams    | . | Ledyard | .       | . | Groton.     |
| Lieutenant Patric Ward       | . | .       | .       | . | Groton.     |
| Sylvester Walworth           | . | .       | .       | . | Groton.     |
| Joseph Wedger                | . | .       | Ledyard | . | Groton.     |
| Thomas Williams              | . | .       | .       | . | Stonington. |
| Daniel Williams <sup>2</sup> | . | .       | .       | . | Saybrook.   |
| John Whittlesey              | . | .       | .       | . | Saybrook.   |
| Stephen Whittlesey           | . | .       | .       | . | Saybrook.   |
| Christopher Woodbridge       | . | .       | .       | . | Groton.     |
| Henry Woodbridge             | . | .       | .       | . | Groton.     |

Total, 88.

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<sup>1</sup> On the tombstone Minard, which seems to be an error, as his descent is from Clement Miner.

<sup>2</sup> Not on the monument.

## NAMES OF THE WOUNDED.

## PAROLED AND LEFT AT HOME.

*"A Particular Account of the Men that were Wounded at Fort Griswold, in the Battle with the British, on the 6<sup>th</sup> of Sept 1781, who were Paroled by Captain Bloomfield; and Ebenezer Ledyard, Esq., was taken as Hostage to see them forthcoming, if called for." In the presence of Rufus Avery.*

|                                                 |             |
|-------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Lieutenant Parke Avery, Jr., lost one eye . . . | Groton.     |
| Ensign Ebenezer Avery, in the head . . .        | Groton.     |
| Amos Avery, in the hand . . . . .               | Groton.     |
| John Daboll, Jr., in the hand . . . . .         | Groton.     |
| Ensign Charles Eldridge, knee . . . . .         | Groton.     |
| Daniel Eldridge, shot through neck and face     | Groton.     |
| Christopher Eldridge, in the face . . . . .     | Groton.     |
| Samuel Edgecomb, Jr., in the hand . . . . .     | Groton.     |
| Andrew Gallup,* in the hip . . . . .            | Groton.     |
| Robert Gallup,* in the body . . . . .           | Groton.     |
| Sergeant Stephen Hempstead, in the body . .     | New London. |
| Corporal (Jehial) Judd, in the knee . . . . .   | Hebron.     |
| Captain William Latham, in the thigh . . . .    | Groton.     |
| Captain Edward Latham, in the body . . . .      | Groton.     |
| Jonathan Latham, Jr.,* body . . . . .           | Groton.     |
| Christopher Latham, Jr., body . . . . .         | Groton.     |
| Frederick Moore, <sup>1</sup> body . . . . .    | Groton.     |
| John Morgan, in the knee . . . . .              | Groton.     |

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\* This name is in the original manuscript, but has never been given in any printed list. — A.

<sup>1</sup> Frederick Wave first appeared in Rathbun's Narrative, before alluded to, and was copied by Mr. Harris. The original manuscript list of paroled wounded is that of Rufus Avery, in which this name is Frederick More. Though carelessly written, any one can see the same reading which gave us Wave should have given us Wavgan for Morgan. Frederick Moore drew a pension. I have put him in place of Wave, who has for a century taken the honors due to Moore, who lost a house on Groton Bank by the fire. No trace of Wave can be found. He seems to have disappeared as completely as his namesakes after a gale.

|                                                     |             |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Jabish Pendleton, in the hand . . . . .             | Groton.     |
| Captain Solomon Perkins, in the face . . . . .      | Groton.     |
| Lieutenant Obadiah Perkins, in the breast . . . . . | Groton.     |
| Ebenezer Perkins, in the face . . . . .             | Groton.     |
| Elisha Prior, in the arm . . . . .                  | Groton.     |
| Lieutenant William Starr, in the breast . . . . .   | Groton.     |
| John Starr,* in the arm . . . . .                   | Groton.     |
| Daniel Stanton, Jr., in the body . . . . .          | Stonington. |
| William Seymour, lost his leg . . . . .             | Hartford.   |
| Ensign Jos. Woodmansee, lost one eye . . . . .      | Groton.     |
| Sanford Williams, in the body . . . . .             | Groton.     |
| Asel Woodworth, in the neck . . . . .               | Groton.     |
| Thomas Woodworth, in the leg . . . . .              | Groton.     |
| Zibe Woodworth, in the knee . . . . .               | Groton.     |

ADDITIONAL NAMES NOT ON AVERY'S LIST, BUT IN THAT  
PRINTED BY MR. HARRIS.

|                                                               |           |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| Samuel Stillman, arm and thigh . . . . .                      | Saybrook. |
| Tom Wansuc (Pequot Indian), bayonet stab in<br>neck . . . . . | Groton.   |

If to these we add, —

|                                       |             |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|
| Edward Stanton, in the body . . . . . | Stonington, |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|

who is in the list of wounded reported by the committee of the Legislature, we have exactly the number (35) reported by Stephen Hempstead as being paroled.

The large proportion of officers among the killed and wounded is accounted for by the fact that after six years of war, many men had been in the army or militia and earned their titles. When the alarm was sounded, the same spirit which had raised them to command, at once brought them to the fort as volunteers. They were there prompt for duty. Others were officers of privateers or merchantmen lying in the harbor, whose fearless hearts prompted them to lend a hand in defence of the fort.

## OTHERS, BOTH UNHURT AND WOUNDED, NOT TAKEN PRISONERS.

|                                                                                |               |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|
| Benjamin Bill, wounded in the ankle . . .                                      | Groton.       |
| Joshua Bill, in the leg . . . . .                                              | Groton.       |
| Benajah Holdridge . . . . .                                                    | Groton.       |
| Samuel W. Jaques . . . . .                                                     | Exeter, R. I. |
| Amos Lester, in the hip . . . . .                                              | Groton.       |
| Cary Leeds, <sup>1</sup> died December 28. . . . .                             | Groton.       |
| William Latham, Jr. (a boy of twelve, who<br>was allowed to go free) . . . . . | Groton.       |
| Henry Mason, in the leg . . . . .                                              | Groton.       |
| Japheth Mason . . . . .                                                        | New London.   |
| James Morgan, fifteen bayonet pricks in back<br>and legs . . . . .             | Groton.       |
| Thomas Mallison . . . . .                                                      | Groton.       |
| Joseph Moxley, Jr., in the body . . . . .                                      | Groton.       |
| Elisha Morgan . . . . .                                                        | Groton.       |
| John Prentis, slightly wounded . . . . .                                       | New London.   |

## WOUNDED ON NEW LONDON SIDE.

Samuel Booth Hempstead, shot in thigh.  
Elijah Richards, died September 20.  
Jonathan Whaley.

## PRISONERS CARRIED OFF.

|                       |                                          |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------------|
| Sergeant Rufus Avery, | Captain William Coit <sup>2</sup> (taken |
| Caleb Avery,          | on New London side),                     |
| Peter Avery,          | Charles Chester,                         |
| Samuel Abraham,       | Nathan Darrow,                           |
| Joshua Baker,         | Elias Dart,                              |
| Reuben Bushnell,      | Levi Dart,                               |

<sup>1</sup> See report to Legislature, page 138.

<sup>2</sup> Captain of the first company in New London to respond to the Lexington alarm. Afterward in the naval service, in which he boasted "he was the first man to turn King George III.'s bunting upside down."

|                             |                           |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| Gilbert Edgecomb,           | Isaac Morgan.             |
| Daniel Eldridge,            | Isaac Rowley,             |
| Ebenezer Fish,              | Lieutenant Jabez Stow (of |
| Walter Harris, <sup>1</sup> | Fort Trumbull), Saybrook, |
| Jeremiah Harding,           | Corporal Josiah Smith,    |
| —— Kilburn,                 | Holsey Sanford,           |
| Ebenezer Ledyard (hostage), | Solomon Tift,             |
| William Latham,             | Horatio Wales,            |
| Jonathan Minor,             | Thomas Welles.            |

I hear from a very reliable source there were three brothers by the name of Egglestone, who were prisoners, but have not time to get particulars.

A few of the difficulties attending the chapter on Biographical Sketches, and the lists of killed and wounded, will be appreciated when one considers the fact that there were three of the name of William Latham, two each of Daniel Stanton and Daniel Eldredge, seventeen Avery, nine Perkins, five Stanton, four Starr, and so on through the list of heroes.

No list of the wounded and prisoners has ever been made until this list of mine, which is made up from pension lists, official reports, petitions, newspaper obituaries, family letters, and traditions handed down from father to son or daughter, as it chanced to be one or the other, of a nature to be interested in the family history.

Many times the traditions of a family have been found in the memory of some one of another name, and often people acknowledge hearing all the history of the fort and its defenders talked over years ago, but passed it by as merely the old folks' chatter. Thus many items of interest have been lost, and others, through imperfect understanding at first, have been distorted by the lapse of time and careless repetition till

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Walter Harris, living on Town Hill, near Fort Nonsense, in the house now occupied by his grandson, Douglas W. Gardner, was staying by the house, and when Arnold came by he recognized him, hailed him as a traitor, and further relieved his mind regarding his conduct, for which he was taken prisoner and sent off with the rest.



the accounts are very widely at variance. In such cases I have taken the one with either the preponderance of testimony or the least in conflict with other known facts.

Of many men I have been able to learn nothing, simply because I have not been able to find the historian of the family.

CHARLES ALLYN.







## APPENDIX.

I HAVE been compelled to make an Appendix, by the finding of material belonging to the history of the time of the battle after the proper place for its insertion in the body of the work had been passed; also by the fact that some of the matter included seems to me interesting as a side light on the tragedy.

The plan of Fort Griswold, and the sketch of New London, used in this work are fac-similes from original drawings from the collection of William Faden, of London, engraver and King's Geographer, and are now for the first time given to the public. This collection of maps and plans had come into possession of Mr. Faden, in his duty of engraving for the English government, and are from drawings made at the time by officers in the English Army in various parts of the world. The portfolio from which these are taken came at auction to Mr. Converse, of New Haven; then to Hon. Nathan Hale, both collectors of Americana; and finally by sale to the Library of Congress, where they now are.

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*Copy of a Letter from Colonel William Ledyard to Governor Trumbull. — Written only three days before he was slain.*

NEW LONDON 3d Sept 1781

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY

Having received information lately that a number of horses were buying up & several already collected for the purpose of being sent over to Long Island, upon which information we kept two boats cruising near the place they were to embark from for three nights, but the wind proving unfavorable & the nights very light prevented their embarking & for fear the persons concerned in sending over the horses would take another route with them I thought it advisable to seize the horses at the different places where they were collected & have already seized & secured 4 of the horses, — also a person by the name of Collins Gorton, who appears to be concerned in the affair. A large number of sheep are purchased & are collecting to send to the enemy.

Would wish Your Excellency would please to order unto this garrison a proper number of men for the security of this post to enable us more effectually to prevent supplies being sent to the enemy. It appears that there are a large number of persons concerned in this trade, who pay little or no regard to authority or the laws of the State & I conceive they are dangerous persons respecting this post.

I am this day preparing a flag to go to New York, with a number of British naval prisoners in order to exchange those now there belonging to this State. The last flag brought out all those persons Your Excellency wrote about from Danbury. I have not yet received any money from the Collector of Groton as directed & fear from what he said that he wont be able to supply me with any worthy of note for some time to come. I now owe for the price of 5 Flags & shall not have it in my power to continue the exchange of American prisoners unless I am properly furnished with monies. Mr. Mumford will be able to inform Your Excellency with the difficulties I meet with on this head.

I am with the utmost respect Your Excellency's

Most obedient Servant

W<sup>a</sup>. LEDYARD.

[The original of the above letter is deposited with the Mass. Historical Society.]

*Part of a Letter from Ebenezer Ledyard to the Hon. William Williams,  
Member of the Connecticut Council of Safety, or War Committee.  
Dated at Groton February 12, 1778.*

My brother has received orders to enlist another matross company — his first orders from his Excellency were to take charge of the forts on both sides and to overlook the works. He has been obliged to order all the work last summer & take as much care of his company as other Captains. I dont believe they can enlist any but boys without a bounty & boys are not fit for cannon — they can't do their duty — it requires able-bodied men. My brother is on duty every day. He is willing to serve to order the work on both sides & command both forts, but to take charge of a Company & direct the works both as last year he can't. Last year he served as Engineer which made a great saving to the public, but thinks he ought to be allowed something extra. While others have been trading and making money he has served the public in many departments. But others that do very little are as much noticed as him & when any field officer of the militia comes in here they are over him. Yet they are obliged to go to him to set their men to work & he directs the whole. So he does the work & they have the credit — but if he is not put over both forts without taking a company — I believe he wont serve. We have neither of us touched trade since these times began

but constantly served the public & have had other people by us improving and making fortunes & we have lived on money due us many years.

This, if Your honor please you may show Judge Law, if at Assembly or Esquire Payne or any honest man.

EBENEZER LEDYARD.

“MOTHER BAILEY.”

IN connection with the events that characterized the attack and heroic defence and final overpowering and massacre of the brave patriots that gave their lives for the protection of their homes and the cause of liberty, the name of “Mother Bailey” will ever stand prominent as a warm-hearted patriot and intense hater of British oppression. At the time of the attack on the fort and the barbarous treatment of its noble defenders after their surrender, Anna Warner, then a maiden of 23 summers, early an orphan, adopted by her uncle, Edward Mills, resided with his family in a little farm-house surrounded by woods about three miles east of the village of Groton Bank, near what is now called Candlewood Hill. Early feeling the spirit of '76 she grew up under influences calculated to stimulate her ardor in the cause of liberty, and learned to hate most cordially the enemies and invaders of her country, and often wished “she were a man that she might have an opportunity of taking an active part in its defence. Her uncle, Edward Mills, was one of the little band of volunteers that on the morning of Sept. 6th early hurried to the aid of the garrison. During the day and at its close no particulars of the result of the battle had reached the remote home of the Mills' family. The night passed and no tidings had been received by his almost distracted wife as to his fate. Anna, after early performing the out-door services of the farm, clad in the simple costume of the time, hurried to the fort, three miles distant, to obtain intelligence of her relative. She found him wounded, bleeding, and nearly insensible, lying on the bare floor of a neighboring house where the wounded had been conveyed. As soon as he recognized her he commenced moaning for his wife and children. Anna hurried back to the family with the sad intelligence, and immediately saddled the family horse, on which she placed the mother with one of the older children, and taking the youngest, the babe, in her arms, on foot herself, returned to the dying father, never resting on her errand of mercy until she laid the child upon his bosom. This was the noble part which this devoted maiden took in the history of that eventful day.

After peace was established she married Elijah Bailey, who afterwards was appointed postmaster at Groton Bank, which office he continued to hold under every administration forty years, occupying the fine old mansion now owned and occupied by Paymaster Harris, pleasantly situated on the corner of the old road to Stonington.

It was while residing here with her husband, thirty-one years afterwards, in June, 1813, that the famous *petticoat* incident occurred that made our

heroine renowned throughout the country. Decatur and his little fleet of three vessels were closely blockaded by Commodore Hardy and his squadron, then in full view in Fisher's Island Sound. Maudauding parties from the blockading fleet were making landings from time to time along the coast, and an attack of a more formidable nature was feared, and from the former event in 1781, such an attempt at landing was expected. Alarms were frequent, and on one occasion when the forts and town were threatened, Major Simeon Smith, of New London, with a company of volunteers, hurried to reinforce the garrison, but found it deficient in a very important article of ammunition, — namely flannel for cartridges. Search was instantly made throughout the village for a supply. From the apprehension of another enactment of the scenes of 1781, the inhabitants had removed nearly all their beds, bedding, etc., and flannel or blankets could not be obtained. An appeal was made to Mrs. Bailey, as she was crossing the street to the house of a neighbor. She had already disposed of her blankets, but quick as thought she passed her hand under her skirt, and, unloosing the band of her flannel petticoat, dropped it gracefully at her feet and handed it to the officer. It is perhaps unnecessary to repeat the exact vigorous expression she used as she presented the garment, but the cordial wish and hope of the giver was that the aim might be sure and the execution thorough on the first Englishman that could be reached. The garment was conveyed to the fort and its story repeated to the garrison, and with loud huzzas for "Mother Bailey" it was raised on a pike-staff, with the remark that no better banner was needed to stimulate to deeds of heroism.

"The Martial Petticoat" was lauded throughout the land, and was the theme of sober prose and patriotic poesy, of story and of song, and is still remembered and will be by the patriots of future time. Its heroine was honored with the personal visits of one or more of our presidents, by statesmen and historians, and many noted personages of the past generation. Always buoyant and animated in her nature and disposition, even in her old age, she was a kind neighbor, a warm friend, and always ready to assist the needy, or in person to relieve the wants of the poor and distressed. She died January 10, 1851, at the age of ninety-two, from her clothes taking fire from a stove near which she was sitting. Cherished by her memory. — W. H. S.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The above sketch of "Mother Bailey" is from the writer's actual knowledge, who resided some years almost adjacent to her dwelling, and, as a frequent inmate of her household, heard the rehearsal and repetition of the facts above stated from her own lips from time to time for more than a quarter of a century. He can vouch for their correctness, although somewhat differing from occasional statements that have been made in many of the newspaper articles that have from time to time appeared. — W. H. S.

*The Honorable General Assembly for State of Connecticut to be convened at Hartford (by adjournment) the 10th day of October A D 1782.*<sup>1</sup>

The memorial of Waity Stanton Widow & relict of Lieut Enoch Stanton late of Stonington Dece<sup>ed</sup> humbly sheweth that on the 6<sup>th</sup> day of September 1781 (s<sup>d</sup> day by your memorialist never to be forgotten) She suffered the irreparable loss of a kind tender and Provident Husband in the Garrison of Fort Griswold in Groton That she was then left with the charge & care of seven children, chief were and are incapable of support by their own hands That the said Leu<sup>t</sup> Enoch Stanton early engaged in the service of his country & continued therein more than 3 years and Behaved in such manner as to gain general Applause & esteem But through the great distresses of the times and the heavy burden which lay upon your memorialist in providing for so large a family of children He was induced together with the earnest solicitation of his friends at home to apply for resignation not from any dislike to service but through the apparant necessity of his being personally with his family, for he often expressed his wishes to remain in the service of his country and most earnestly desired to hold an active part in humbling the pride of our cruel enemies & beholding that happy & wished for period when tranquility should pervade this continent (alas a period by him not to be enjoyed) soon after his return to his family from Continental service the Congress of the United States were pleased to decree that the pay of the army should as far as circumstances would admit be made equal to their first expectations & engagements but notwithstanding the faithful services of the s<sup>d</sup> Leut Stanton (being excused from service but few days before said decree) he was entirely secluded from any benefit therefrom though honorably discharged The mention of which hope will not be construed by your honors as any designed reflection upon Government but only to express or manifest Loss sustained

Further your memorialist Desirous of guarding against to great a Digression from the matter of her prayer Begs leave to Observe one other Circumstance which Conceve Affected her (viz) Your Hona<sup>ble</sup> Board were pleased to Grant a Brief for the Benefit of Sufferers of New London & Groton on s<sup>d</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> of September 1781 (the Seat of Suffering most Assuredly for that Day)

That your memorialist Imagined as her Sufferings were *Equal* to any and Similar to many that She was included therefore applied for her Expected part of s<sup>d</sup> Donation but was Rejected barely on the Principle of not belonging either to New London or Groton an Observation which Trust

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<sup>1</sup> The above petition, which was *not* granted, will give a slight idea of the trials and sufferings of the women of the Revolutionary period.

will not be Considered as Reflecting Dishonor (tho a matter of Speculation to your memorialist as well as many others).

But to Return, About one year and half before Destruction of the Garrison of Fort Griswold A vacancy happened, of Leut for s<sup>d</sup> Fort which was Offered to the s<sup>d</sup> Leut Stanton and by him Cheerfully Accepted (after having put his Family Affairs in such Circumstances that he could leave them) where he Steadly remained and attended Service untill that fatal day which deprived him of Life Fighting Bleeding & Dying in the Cause of his Injured Country

And Whereas there are monies Due from this State for Services done by the s<sup>d</sup> Leut Stanton as well as money due for the Losses Sustained, as understood is Estimated by a Committe appointed by your Hon<sup>ble</sup> House for that Purpose (tho the amount allowed have not yet been acquainted with) These are therefore to Request your Honor<sup>e</sup> that you would be Pleased to Decree & Order that whatever may be Due might be paid from Real Money which may be Collected from the Sale of Forfeited Estates or some other way whereby your memorialist may receive Benefit

STONINGTON, *December 1, 1781.*

HON<sup>ABLE</sup> COMMITTEE

GENTLEMEN, — The following is a List of Articles Cloathing &c (Taken and destroyed by the Enemy 6<sup>th</sup> of September last) Belonging to Lieut Enoch Stanton late of Stonington Dec<sup>d</sup> which is hereby transmitted by the Widow of said Dec<sup>d</sup> to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Committe Appointed by Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly of State of Connecticut for their Inspection Observance &c

|                                                                                                  |          |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| Viz One P <sup>r</sup> new Shoes 8s. 1 P old d <sup>o</sup> 5s. 2 P new worsted Stockings 10s.   | £1.13.   |
| One P Cotton Stockings 6s. 1 P Broadcloth Breeches new 36s.                                      | 2. 2.    |
| One new holl <sup>d</sup> Shirt 24s. 3 do part wore 36s. 1 new Broadcloth jack <sup>t</sup> 48s. | 5. 8.    |
| One new fustian Jacket 24s. 1 Camblet d <sup>o</sup> wore 6s. 5 Stocks 15s.                      | 2. 5.    |
| One Silk Hdkf 15s. 1 Stamp <sup>d</sup> do 8s. 1 Silver Stock Buckle 10s.                        | 1.13.    |
| One P <sup>r</sup> Silver knee Buckles 9s. 1 P Shoe Buckles 6s. 1 Pen-knife 2s. 1 Blanket 12s.   | 1. 9.    |
| One Swine abt 8 score fat 66s. 8d. 1 Sheet 10s. 1 Pillow & case 8s. Cash 48s.                    | 6.12.8   |
| One Jacket returned which in action was Cut & Damaged say 5s.                                    | 5-       |
| Total                                                                                            | £21. 7.8 |



*Appendix.*

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|                                                                                                                                             |          |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| Brought over                                                                                                                                | £21. 7.8 |
| List of Articles which by Information from s <sup>d</sup> Deceased when<br>he left home, which he had in Fort Griswold. Supposed<br>to lost |          |
| Viz Four new Silk Hdks 6os. 1 dz Barlow penknives 24s.                                                                                      | 4. 4.    |
| Galloon, Buttons, and Trimmings, for suit of Cloathes 3os.                                                                                  | 1.10.    |
| Two Packs of Pins 36s.                                                                                                                      | 1.16.    |
| Total                                                                                                                                       | 28.17.8  |
| 1 Sword                                                                                                                                     | 12.      |
|                                                                                                                                             | £29. 9.8 |

WAITY STANTON.

Stonington N London County ss Decbr 3 1781

Personally Appeared the above named Waity Stanton Wid<sup>o</sup> and Relict  
of Lieut Enoch Stanton and made oath the foregoing according to her  
best knowledge &c

Before me

JOHN WILLIAMS

*Justice of peace.*

A Friend and Acquaintance of the above mentioned Lieut Enoch Stan-  
ton Dec<sup>d</sup> Begs leave to Observe some Circumstances of which he is Ac-  
quainted th<sup>o</sup> perhaps not under the immediate Control and Allowance of  
the Ho<sup>ab</sup> Committe.

Yet however would wish it may remain annexed to the foregoing &c.

Lieut Enoch Stanton Dec<sup>d</sup> entered early the Service of the United  
States as an officer. he remained for the Term of about 3 years in the  
Continental Army in that Department as to obtain the character of the  
soldier. But having a large Family at home viz Wife and Seven Young  
Children, the Eldest then abo<sup>t</sup> 12 Years of Age the hardness of the Times  
Occasioned by the rapid Depreciation of money with the Inconsiderable  
pay of the Army at that Time as well as delay of payment rendered it en-  
tirely necessary for him to retire from the Service as his pay was no way  
Adequate to the Calls of his Family

Twas with great Difficulty he could Obtain a Discharge having gained  
the Esteem of the Army as an Officer, Active, Skilful, and Spirited. But  
upon representing the necessity thereof in regard to the Situation of  
his Family, he Obtaine<sup>d</sup> and tho his Country loudly spoke his further  
Continuance in the Service, yet the reasons Assigned were Allowed  
Satisfactory and he very politely rec<sup>d</sup> the Thanks of the General Officers  
for his signal Services while with them. Twas not from Disaffection to  
the Service which any way Stimulated him to retire, he alway appearing  
as it were in his Element while in Service, being much attached to the  
institutions of his Country and never more pleased than when he held an  
Active part in her Defence &c

After some time of Retirement (from the Determined appearance of the Enemy to continue the war) he having in some manner adjusted and settled the affairs of his Family he offered himself And was appointed to the Lieutenantcy of Fort Griswold where by the Fate of War (tho in a weak & Debilitated State of Health) he fell a Sacrifice to British Rage and honorably resigned his Life to the Cause of his Injured and Oppressed Country

Would further observe that perhaps unfortunately for his Family he Obtained his Resignation: but a few days before the Continental Congress were pleased to make Allowance to Officers &c for the great Losses they had Sustained in Consequence of the great Depreciation of Continental Currency, to which Grant of Congress he most Assuredly stood Entitled if by faithful Service it was Obtainable — how far such matters may be reviewed considered &c is uncertain

The reasons of the above are set forth with a View to revive and Establish in the minds of those who may have the Conducting Regulating and Adjusting of the Affairs of those who have fought Bled and Died in the Service of their Country that their Families may not be deprived of those Benefits to which tis conceived they are Entitled from their meritorious Services as well as from the great Suffering they Sustained from short pay while in Service

The whole submitted &c &c &c

ELNATHAN ROSSETER.

#### BENEDICT ARNOLD.

THE name of Benedict Arnold has been a synonym of treason, ingratitude, and baseness for more than a century. No man in American history has been so heartily execrated. In English history only Guy Fawkes contests with him the palm of infamy. Lapse of time has not reversed the judgment instantly pronounced on him by his contemporaries. And even the most industrious and ingenious of advocates, Isaac N. Arnold, Esq., who has recently published an interesting life of him, has been able to do no more for his memory than to make a fair judicial plea for charity in mitigation of the sentence which an impartial posterity should pronounce on him. However severely we may condemn Benedict Arnold, we should at this day by no means forget his valuable services in the early years of the Revolution, nor the high opinion which Washington had of him up to the moment of his flight from West Point. No man among the officers of the army had so clear a conception of the necessity of a prompt movement to capture Ticonderoga and Quebec. And only Ethan Allen started with equal celerity to accomplish that purpose.

Not a doubt can exist but that if the Congress had amply sustained his plans, which Washington adopted and energetically seconded, and

had hastened Montgomery more rapidly, with a body of well trained men from the Indian wars, Quebec would have been captured and held for a time at least in alliance with the Colonies. Neither can there be a doubt but that if Arnold, or even General Schuyler, had commanded at Saratoga instead of General Gates, Burgoyne and his army would have been made prisoners before October, and that without any conditions. Up to the date, the 19th of September, 1777, Arnold was the idol of the soldiers, and esteemed by Washington as the bravest and most far seeing of the generals. Not a shadow had fallen on his patriotism. He had been, indeed, aspersed before the Congress of selfish peculations, of personal ambition, and even of envy toward his fellow-officers. But not one of these charges had been proven, nor have they, to this day, been presumptively established. He did spend money freely, but it appears to have been done that he might, on the slender and irregular pay of a subaltern officer, entertain the friends of his country like princes.

The truth of history appears to be revealing itself that Arnold was a brave, high-spirited, ambitious man, loving his country with sincere devotion, and serving it unselfishly and somewhat ostentatiously. He had the exalted notions of personal and official dignity and rank, which were common among chivalric gentlemen, and which, if they die out of men's minds, will cost the nation more than any war debt we have ever contracted. He foresaw what the proper conduct of the war demanded, and in carrying out his plans and the orders of superiors he incurred risks and won successes or performed prodigies of bravery which few other men did. His march through the woods of Maine to Quebec exceeds the famous march of the ten thousand to the sea. His ship fight on Lake Champlain is, if not the best, yet among the best, fights ever made by Americans on the water. His relief of Fort Stanwix is nowhere excelled for its strategy or the consequences it produced. And his battle of the 19th of September, 1777, contrary to the orders of General Gates, who, but for Arnold's foresight and disobedient, energetic bravery, would himself have been captured or defeated by Burgoyne, was really the one thing which made the Revolution successful. General Philip Schuyler might have won it had he been permitted to continue in command of the army. Arnold, had he obtained the commission of first major-general, which he had fairly won and which he ought to have had, would have finished the war at that one brilliant battle. But the vain, intriguing, incompetent General Gates never could have organized a victory or won one after others had planned for it.

The neglect which Arnold had encountered before this time, and the contempt with which incompetence in the Congress and in that division of the army was able to treat him, appear to have completely soured and changed him from a self-sacrificing patriot into a conspiring traitor. No plea of slighted talent or of degradation in rank ought to be allowed even to him. For he had been early in the cause of Independence, and es-

pecially zealous; he had made a reputation for wisdom in council and valor in the field wide as the continent; he had done as much as any man to make the breach between his country and England impassable; and when he threw himself into the gulf it only became the wider. And the studied, crafty planning, the unwarrantable decoy of a British general into the disgrace of a spy, and finally the hasty flight, — the first and, as far as we know, his only act of cowardice, — all have made him justly execrated. Still let his name hang on the gibbet of infamy to warn patriots of his fate; but do not let us forget how brave he was, how sensitive to personal aspersion, how reckless of his own life and resources, how inspiring to his men, and how much he was trusted by the noblest of our Revolutionary men, — Schuyler, Hamilton, Washington, and others. Let us honor what he was, and despise what he made himself by an unwise betrayal of his trust.

The school-boys of Norwich are familiar with the acrostic upon the traitor's name said to have been composed impromptu by Oliver Arnold, a cousin of Benedict, on being solicited by a dinner party of Englishmen to make an exhibition of his talent for their amusement: —

“Born for a curse to virtue and mankind,  
Earth's broadest realm ne'er knew so black a mind.  
Night's sable veil your crimes can never hide,  
Each one so great 't would glut historic tide.  
Defunct, your cursed memory will live  
In all the glare that infamy can give.  
Curses of ages will attend your name,  
*Traitors alone will glory in your shame.*

“Almighty vengeance sternly waits to roll  
Rivers of sulphur on your treacherous soul.  
Nature looks shuddering back with conscious dread  
On such a tarnished blot as she has made.  
Let hell receive you riveted in chains,  
*Doomed to the hottest focus of its flames.*”

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*From “The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution,” published in 1855.*

The seventy-second anniversary of the memorable tragedy at Groton Heights, in 1781, was celebrated by the people of New London and vicinity on Wednesday, September 7th, 1853. The Hon. Robert C. Winthrop was the orator of the occasion.

The orator's omission to make a brief allusion, even, to the two colored soldiers called out the following tribute from William Anderson, of New London, Connecticut: —

"I stood," he says, "on the Heights of Groton, a few days since, listening to the praises of the white heroes from the lips of Hon. R. C. Winthrop, W. I. Hammersley, Esq., Governor Seymour, and others. I saw there on the battle-ground the descendants of the gallant Ledyard (or, rather the connections), with those of the Averys, the Lathams, the Perkinses, the Baileys, and others, in the full enjoyment of that liberty so dearly bought by their ancestors. I was glad that they were free and living out their God-given rights. My mind became excited with the scene: but on reflection my excitement was calmed down by the sober thought of an unpleasant reality; and, you will ask, why was I sad? Well, as Shakespeare says, 'I will to you a tale unfold;' and while you bear with me in the recital I know your sympathies will attend me in the sequel.

"September 6, 1781, New London was taken by the British, under the command of that traitor Arnold. The small band composing the garrison retreated to the fort opposite, in the town of Groton, and there resolved either to gain a victory or die for their country. The latter pledge was faithfully redeemed, and by none more gallantly than the two colored men, and, if the survivors of that day's carnage tell truly, they fought like tigers, and were butchered after the gates were burst open. One of these men was the brother of my grandmother, by the name of Lambert, but called Lambo, — since chiselled on the marble monument by the *American classic appellation* of 'Sambo.' The name of the other man was Jordan Freeman. Lambert was living with a gentleman in Groton by the name of Latham, so, of course, he was called Lambert Latham. Mr. Latham and Lambert, on the day of the massacre, were at work in a field at a distance from the house. On hearing the alarm upon the approach of the enemy, Mr. Latham started for home, leaving Lambert to drive the team up to the house. On arriving at the house, Lambert was told that Mr. Latham had gone up to the fort. Lambert took the cattle from the team, and, making all secure, started for the point of defence, where he arrived before the British began the attack; and here let me say, my dear friend, that there was not any negro pew<sup>1</sup> in that fort, although there was some praying as well as fighting. But there they stood side by side and shoulder to shoulder, and after a few rounds of firing each man's visage was so blackened by the smoke of powder that Lambert and Jordan had but little to boast of on the score of color. The assault on the part of the British was a deadly one, and manfully resisted by the Americans, even to the clubbing of their muskets after their ammunition was expended; but finally the little garrison was overcome, and, on the entrance of the enemy, the British officer inquired, "Who commands this fort?" The gallant Ledyard replied, "I once did; you do now," at the

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<sup>1</sup> I learn Mr. Anderson had had trouble with one of the churches of the town over the matter of church pews.

same time handing his sword, which was immediately run through his body to the hilt by the officer. This was the commencement of an unparalleled slaughter. Lambert, being near Colonel Ledyard when he was slain, retaliated upon the officer by thrusting his bayonet through his body. Lambert, in return, received from the enemy *thirty-three* bayonet wounds, and thus fell nobly avenging the death of his commander.

"These facts were given me on the spot at the time of the laying of the corner-stone by two veterans who were present at the battle."

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*A List of all the Children now Living of the Defenders of Fort Griswold.*

Of the children of the defenders of Fort Griswold, the following is a list of all those who are living this Centennial Year, as far as I have been able to learn : —

|                                    |                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Of Caleb Avery :                   | Mrs. Eliza Avery Williams. Groton.                                                                                                                                                           |
| Of Joshua Bill :                   | Mrs. Betsey Bill Darrow, New London.                                                                                                                                                         |
| Of John Daboll :                   | David Luther Daboll, Providence, R. I.<br>William Vincent Daboll, Providence, R. I.                                                                                                          |
| Of Samuel Edgecomb, Jr.:           | Daniel D. Edgecomb, Mystic River, Conn.                                                                                                                                                      |
| Of Ebenezer Fish :                 | Ebenczer Fish, Brooklyn, Ohio.<br>Daniel Fish, Brooklyn, Ohio.<br>Eunice, wife of John Boyden, Brooklyn, Ohio.                                                                               |
| Of Samuel W. Jaques :              | Mercey, wife of Mumford Burdick, Rockville, R. I.                                                                                                                                            |
| Of Andrew Gallup :                 | Andrew Henry Gallup, South Omina, Iowa.<br>Asa Lyman Gallup, Ledyard, Conn.<br>Harriet Gallup, Ledyard, Conn.                                                                                |
| Of William Latham (of Fort Hill) : | John D. Latham, Noank.<br>James A. Latham, Noank.<br>Silas Latham, Noank.<br>Abby J., wife of J. D. Spicer, Noank.<br>Hannah, wife of William Adams, Ledyard.<br>Henry Latham, Mystic River. |
| Of Holsey Sanford :                | Mrs. Miriam Sanford Searle, East Hampton, Mass.<br>Mrs. Louisa Sanford Rude, Huntington, Mass.                                                                                               |
| Of Edward Stanton :                | David Stanton, Stonington.<br>Edward Stanton, Stonington.<br>Mrs. Lucy Stanton Wheeler, Stonington.                                                                                          |

The following letters written by Zabdiel Rogers and Thomas Mumford, Esq., I am able to give through the kindness of Gordon L. Ford, Esq., of Brooklyn, in whose possession are the originals.

They are especially interesting from having been written so soon after the disaster.

N LONDON. 7th. *Sept.* 1781

DR. SIR :

I have the Unhappinefs to acquaint you Genl. Arnold with about 1500 Or 2000 Men Landed Here Yesterday Morning & have Burnt this Town From the Court House to Nathl. Shaw : House which was Sav'd & from Giles Mumfords House to Capt. Richards Store On Both Sides Except a few Houses on the West Side of the Way — & All the Stores, Houses & C' from Elliots Tavern To the Fort — They Have Burnt your House & All Your Stores at Groton & Most of the Houses on the Bank — They Attack'd the fort at Groton with Great Spirit but were Repuls'd with Lofs Several Times by Col<sup>o</sup> Ledyard who Commanded. who was Oblidg'd to Surrender to Superior Force. after the fort Had Surrender'd They Inhumanely Put him to Death as Also Capt. Peter Richards and A Number of Others—Giles, was Enga'gd with the Enemy the whole Day And is Much unwell to Day thro' his fatigue — your Family Went Back. Suppose to Paquatonnack. where Capt. Mumfords Wife & Children have Gone — The Goods that Were divided I was Lucky Eno. to Get to Norwich The Ev'g Before the Enemy Landed — Giles had a Very Slight Wound - - - - Cannot now Write you further Particulars Must Referr you to What I have Wrote the Gov<sup>t</sup> & Shall Write again Imediately — The Enemy are Now Under Sail Going Away — Shou'd think it Best for you to Come Down —

I am With Great Affection Your friend

ZAB : ROGERS<sup>1</sup>

Thos. Mumford Esq<sup>r</sup>

(Addressed)

Thos. Mumford Esq.

Per Express

Now at Hartford

GROTON 9<sup>th</sup> *September* 1781

SIR :

I have this Ins<sup>t</sup> Rec<sup>d</sup> yours of Yesterday p<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Sam. Raymond Ex-prefs, Requesting a narrative of the Barbarous Scence of the Enemy Committed on the Brave Garison that Nobly defended Fort Grisw<sup>d</sup>. Col<sup>o</sup> Ledyard prevailed on a Number of the brave defenders of American Liberty to Joyn him in the defence of Said fortrefs added to the Small Gari-

<sup>1</sup> This was Zabdiel Rogers, colonel of the 20th regiment of militia, who is spoken of by Jonathan Brooks in his account. His name appears in the court-martial report.

son amounting in the whole to about 150, who nobly defended Said fortrefs against About 1000 picked Brittish & foreign Troops, who Attacked that fort Sword in hand, & were Repulsed halfe an hour, during which time the Enemy Sufferd About  $\frac{1}{4}$  of their numbers in killed & wounded, but being overpowered in numbers Col<sup>o</sup> Ledyard finding the Enemy had gained pofsefsion of some part of the Fort & entering at the Gate, having three men kill'd, tho' proper to Surrender himself with the Garison prisoners, & presented his Sword to an officer who Rec<sup>d</sup> the Same & imediately Lunged it thr<sup>o</sup> the Brave Commandant when the Ruffans (no doubt by order) pierced him in many places with Bayonets, Lieu<sup>t</sup> Chapman & Stanton of the Garison, with upwards of 70 others were inhumanly Murderdered with the Colonel, Chiefly the most worthy inhabitants of this Town, my Son Cap<sup>t</sup> Peter Richards makes one of this number — About forty are Dangerously wounded, & About forty made prisoners whose Lives were Spared by the interposition of a Brittish officer who entered the Fort too Late to Save the Brave Col<sup>o</sup> Ledyard &c. the names of the whole killed & wounded I have not time Just now to Send your Excellency, never was a post more nobly defended, nor Brittish Cruelty more wantonly displayed, we have Lost the flour of this Town both in officers & Respectable inhabitants — my House with the Chief of the others on the Bank are Burnt & many families Left destitute of food & Raiment, all the Stores in New London & more than halfe the Houfes are Like wise Consumed, I Conclude your Excellency is informed the infamous arnold Commanded, he dined with Jeremiah Miller & afterwards had his House Burnt with the others, I Can give your Excellency no encouragement from Our privateers, the Two Brigs I am Concerned in are Sunk to Save them. their Sails & Riggen all Consumed in Stores, one other has no guns, so that only one Remains fit for Duty unequal to the plan proposed, I here there is Two French Ships of force at Newport — Gen<sup>l</sup> Tyler (now here) has tho' proper to order Some publick Stores dealt out for the present Relief of those that have Lost their all, & no Husband &c to provide them Support, he wishes to know your Excellency's pleasure Respecting his Conduct herein, & has appointed Doct<sup>r</sup> Turner<sup>1</sup> Superintendent of the Hospital department & direct him to Supply the needfull for the wounded, I gave him my Advice in this matter

The foregoing is all that is preserved of what is evidently a copy of a letter written by Thomas Mumford, of Groton, to Jonathan Trumbull, Sen., then governor of Connecticut.

He seems to have been in Hartford at the time of the fire, and returned on receipt of the first news of it or on receipt of Colonel Rogers' letter. Katharine Mumford, his daughter, was the wife of Captain Peter Richards.

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<sup>1</sup> Philip Turner whose portrait is given on page 216.



THE following biographical sketches I was unable to obtain in time to insert in their proper place, and add them here rather than omit them entirely.

ASAEL and ZIBA WOODWORTH were only boys of nineteen and seventeen years of age when both were in the action at Fort Griswold, and both were wounded. Asael was wounded in the neck and taken to the hospital. Ziba was shot in the leg, and fell among the dead and dying. He was so weak from loss of blood he could not move so much as a finger, nor so much as groan. When men came to take away the dead to bury them, he was thrown upon the cart among them. He was perfectly conscious all the time, and he prayed for strength to make some sign. He said he made a vow, a promise to God, if He would spare his life, he would devote it to his service. And he groaned aloud. The men who were driving the cart heard the groan, stopped the cart, and rescuing him from this trying position, took him to hospital, saving him from being buried alive! He said his heart was full of love for God, and he fully intended to devote his life to God's service; but when he recovered and was again with his gay companions, he forgot his vow. He never fully recovered from his wound, always being lame and stiff in one knee. After a while Ziba married a lovely girl, whom he quite worshipped. Her name was Lucretia, and he called her "his beautiful Crete." He had to leave his young wife to go up into Vermont to buy a farm. He purchased wild land, where now lies the city of Montpelier. He was detained longer than he anticipated away from his wife, to clear some of his land and roll up a log-house. When he returned for his loved wife, she was not able to go with him, and in a few days she died. So he had to return alone. Then he thought of his *vow*. This great affliction, taking his idol, brought him to his senses, he said, and he immediately began preparing himself for the ministry. I do not know how long after this he began to preach, but after Montpelier was settled he was called to preach there, and remained with "his people," as he used to call them, preaching to them as long as he lived. I well remember him; he was a grand old man. His last visit was in the year 1824. In his life and conversation he seemed fully to redeem his vow of devotion to the service of his divine Master. Of Asael Woodworth I do not know any incident in particular. He, as well as uncle Ziba, always suffered from the wounds received at Groton, neither ever fully recovering, though they lived to be men of years. The brothers characterized the massacre as a most bloody and heartless scene.

[The above is obtained from Amanda (Woodworth) Perkins, of Brookfield, Madison County, New York. Mrs. Perkins is a daughter of Samuel Woodworth, brother of Asael and Ziba, and as far as known the last living grandchild of Benjamin Woodworth, whose children numbered nineteen.]

SAMUEL HILL, as I learn, lived about two miles from the river, on the road to Centre Groton. The names of his five children were Levi, John, Elisha, Moses, and Esther, who was but eight days old at her father's death. Quite a number of the grandchildren are now living in Groton.

WALTER BUDDINGTON,<sup>1</sup> as I learn from his great-grandson, George W. Brown, arose at the sound of the alarm-guns on the morning of the battle, and told his wife there would be bloody work that day, as in a dream he had seen the body of a man lying across their garden wall. After breakfast he took his gun from the deer-horns over the fire-place and started for the fort, where he was, through the engagement. He was taken prisoner and confined on board the Jersey prison-ship at New York. In about a year he was released, and with a companion started for Groton afoot. In their travels, on a Sunday morning, they asked food at a place in Connecticut, and were given a most inviting breakfast, of which Buddington ate sparingly, knowing his weakened condition from long confinement and deficient food. His companion, not so cautious, could not forbear eating heartily, from the effects of which he died before reaching home. Buddington arrived safely home, where he died April 8, 1800, aged sixty-eight years.

SAMUEL BEAUMONT is reported by a family tradition,<sup>1</sup> which presents every appearance of authenticity, as one of five brothers of Lebanon, all of whom were soldiers in the Revolutionary army, and one of the defenders of Fort Griswold, taken a prisoner to New York, from whence he returned when exchanged. He was born in 1755 and died in 1814.

He was represented at the Centennial by his grand nephew, Dr. Leonard Bacon, of New Haven.

PERKINSES.— Later information than that on pages 244 to 247 enables me to add that Squire Luke was a member of the General Assembly 1736 to 1776, and was one of the first judges appointed under the new government.

Obadiah was noted during the rest of his life for his generosity to the widows and children of the men who were killed in the action, and his hatred of the English, who had inflicted the wounds, from which he always suffered and which finally ended his life. Many of his companions, he asserted, were brutally bayoneted to death after being helplessly wounded. Luke Jr. is mentioned by Elnathan in his will as his son; the other Luke, who is spoken of as brother to Elnathan, as said by the grandchildren of Elnathan, "was in no way related to our family; the name is simply a coincidence."

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<sup>1</sup> The name of this man should be added to the list of those carried away prisoners.

## PRISONERS CARRIED TO NEW YORK, NOT ON PREVIOUS LIST.

Walter Buddington, of Groton, and  
Samuel Beaumont, of Lebanon,  
whose son John is living in Lebanon.

On page 100 is this note from a former book, which I accepted, not taking the trouble to verify it. "It is said by old citizens that Arnold's point of observation was the Winthrop tomb, whence he directed the movements of his soldiers in the destruction of the town." — II.

In looking up other matters I find that the Winthrop tomb was not built till 1789, though there is no doubt Arnold stood either in the burial ground, or in the steeple of the old First Church, which was a little to the south of it, in both of which places he is put by tradition.

The disinterment of Major Montgomery occurred about 1805 or 1806, as I learn from a grandson of Capt. John Williams (one of the killed), then about nine years old. He described the position of the skeleton of Montgomery and a fellow-officer (probably Willock), as sitting in the east and west ends of the grave. In the removal a tooth of Montgomery's dropped out which the boy picked up. While carrying it home he showed it to his uncle, a blacksmith, son of Ezekiel Baily, who was killed in the fort. The uncle took it and examined it with great interest, asking questions and blowing his forge with energy the while, and when the fire was bright cast the tooth into it with a remark very like an imprecation.

WILLIAM OR STILLMAN HOTMAN. — The fabricated epitaph, said to be copied from the tombstone in New London, of this man who never existed, is truly pathetic, and has given a theme for many sympathetic poets, whose sorrows over an artificial man, with the epitaph from which they all grow, quite often go the rounds of the newspapers of the country. No resident of New London has ever seen such a tombstone, though several have offered rewards for its discovery. Miss Caulkins pronounced it a forgery, and my finding what is no doubt the original enables me to say it carries its own refutation on its face in its evident falsehoods.

This epitaph first made its appearance in a Providence literary journal in 1835, and contained 211 words, while Colonel Ledyard's quite elaborate original headstone had only 94.

It seems to me highly probable that the rolls of the companies of Captains Adam Shapley and William Latham are destroyed, since a search 'n the State Archives at Hartford fails to reveal aught of them, except the fact that they are not there, and were almost certainly sent to Washington as a part of the vouchers when the settlement was made between the General Government and the State of Connecticut for the moneys

expended in the prosecution of the Revolution. A search at Washington reveals the fact that they are not now there, most likely destroyed in one of the fires which wasted the War and Pension Departments in November, 1800, January, 1801, December 14, 1814, and in 1835.

A list of the killed from Groton was made out by one of its prominent citizens soon after the battle, in which the married and single men are designated. Of a list of 60 only 18 were single men, and there were two married men who died afterward and are not in that list, making 44 widows in Groton alone.

The following sermon I deemed not an inappropriate ending to my compilation of the history of the battle, the heroism of the garrison, and the sufferings of the survivors. It puts in the strongest light the cause of the attack, and the connection between this raid and the crowning victory of Yorktown. It calls attention to many points likely to be overlooked by the casual reader, and which it seemed to me well to have the eyes of the people directed to. These men manned the fort in answer to the call of the alarm-guns, at whose signal it was the duty of all the men to assemble for defence, under guidance of their officers. (Many men of the town failed to respond to the alarm, — why, at this day, we know not.) These men who did their duty as they found it and left the result to God we cannot too highly honor, though it seems a long waiting for just appreciation, that not till the end of a century is an annalist found whose admiration for their deeds led to the attempt to gather the names of all the men in the fort, both killed, wounded, and prisoners.



HEROISM AND RELIGION.  
A SERMON  
IN THE  
FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST IN NEW LONDON  
BY EDWARD WOOLSEY BACON, PASTOR.  
PREACHED  
SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 1881.  
AND SUGGESTED BY  
THE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BATTLE OF  
GROTON HEIGHTS.





## SERMON.

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"These all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them and greeted them from afar, and having confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth. For they that say such things make it manifest that they are seeking after a country of their own."—  
HEB. xi. 13, 14.

IN this 11th chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews all the glorious scenes of Hebrew history are made to pass in procession before us. It is a very galaxy of heroes. All ages and all circumstances are made to contribute to it, as the writer gathers up into one impetuous torrent of example all the men and women who in any good and courageous way had illuminated the name of the chosen people, that out of their various yet common experiences, out of their heroism in failure rather than their triumphs, his brother Christian disciples may get courage in their later day and under their different trials. Out of every age, from Abel to the times of the Maccabees, and by conduct as various as the centuries and circumstances in which they lived, these examples, each so different from the others, yet all alike in spirit, are gathered up, and the appeal is made to yet another phase of courage and another exemplification of faith: "Let us also, seeing we are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, lay aside every weight and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus." The lovely Abel and the mocking Sarah, the saintly Enoch and the harlot Rahab, the meditative Isaac and the ferocious Jephthah, the scheming Jacob and the honest Samuel, — these are not much alike as we remember their lives, yet they all contribute to the appeal, "Let us also run with patience the race that is set before us." Courage is always one. Faith is always the same. The circumstances only are diverse that precipitate courage and faith into action, and make them visible, and crystallize them in glory.

Do you remember how many of these were heroes in failure? We are too apt to think of them as conquerors all. But how many of them are glorious because they consented to failure when duty called them to it, or placed it upon them. Indeed, we may say none of them saw full

success ; not even Abraham, nor Moses, nor David ; “these all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them and greeted them from afar, and having confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth. For they that say such things make it manifest that they are seeking after a country of their own.” In them all heroism and religion were blended, and these heroes were helpful to the early Christians, and are helpful to us, by the thought that they are men, by the very recollection of their infirmities and sins, by the very fact of their failures, as well as by their self-denial, their martyrdom, and the faith that led them to it.

The examination of this assemblage of heroes shows how proper it is to call up and profit by the examples of like heroism that are afforded by any age, as this writer calls them from every age until his own, and to use the good qualities of men, their courage, their faith, however exhibited, as a stimulant to the religious life in quiet or in boisterous times. The burst of enthusiasm which even yet echoes from the walls of Jericho into our ears is repeated again when we remember the field by the small town of Lützen, in Saxony, when the November morning broke foggy, and as the mists rose, about ten o'clock, the little army of Gustavus Adolphus, about half the number of their enemy, were seen kneeling in their ranks and heard singing, “A mighty fortress is our God,” and the hymn of Gustavus Adolphus, that we have sung this morning, “Fear not, O little flock, the foe !” and then charged, to lose their king but to win the day. It echoes again, as, from the plain of Dunbar, we hear Cromwell at the head of his little army, but half the size of that opposed, greeting the rising sun with the prophetic words, “Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered !” And the old tyranny fell. And it echoes again, the more loudly now, as in this presence we remember the men of these streets and river banks one hundred years ago, who on a Sunday were in church and at the Lord's table, and on a Thursday so soaked the soil with their blood that the train of powder laid to explode the magazine could not burn. In every such case the example comes out against odds, and by faith that rose superior to the present. They died as they lived, and fought for a cause the achievement of which they were not to realize. They made it manifest, indeed, even in the British Parliament, that “they were seeking a country of their own,” who said and did such things ; yet these all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them and greeted them from afar. God having provided some better thing concerning us, that apart from us they should not be made perfect.

There are many lessons of heroic, patriotic, and religious character to be drawn from the instances of heroism in the galaxy of American glory which you are about to celebrate, and not least in importance of them is the bond of union to be found here between the two portions of one country that for so long have been practically disunited. Here Connecticut suffered that Virginia might rejoice. The heroes of Groton Heights



were incidental and necessary to the glories of Yorktown. The best blood of New England, "the very flower of this town, both in officers and respectable inhabitants" (as a newly discovered letter of the time describes the fact), was here made a vicarious sacrifice, that the happy homes of Virginia and the South might at last be delivered from invasion that had so long molested them. "It was determined by me nearly twelve months beforehand (says Washington, in a letter not yet published), at all hazards, to give out and cause it to be believed by the highest military as well as civil officers, that New York was the destined place of attack, for the important purpose of inducing the Eastern and Middle States to make greater exertions in furnishing specific supplies than they otherwise would have done, as well as for the interesting purpose of rendering the enemy less prepared elsewhere." Thus, when New England was depleted of its last obtainable supplies and troops, the British commander at New York, discovering the real movement of Washington upon Yorktown, and impelled to make a diversion, sent Benedict Arnold upon his willing errand, to violate his native soil, and the victory in Virginia involved the defeat in Connecticut. How truly and how willingly these colonies then were one in suffering, each for the other. How impossible that they should not thus suffer in turn, each in the other's place. Already the land was one by nature; the people upon it stood or fell together. Let us rejoice, as the attempt at division becomes an acknowledged failure, at each reminiscence that shall serve to soften and strengthen the bond which now unites these States forever. The heroism yonder was heroism in failure, and therefore shines brightly as heroism of faith; but already we see what help to others that faithfulness unto failure wrought. The most divine attainment of our human nature is reached when men become willing to fail, although they are faithful, and would rather be faithful in failure than excuse themselves from failure by the least suspicion of unfaithfulness. The example they then leave becomes both glorious and saving; such was the example of him who, as he left this bank of the river for his station and his death, gave this testimony as he said Good-by: "If I have this day to lose either life or honor, you who know me best know which it will be." And such this testimony of the little garrison so vastly outnumbered, "We will not give up the fort, let the consequences be what they may!"

One other thing is true as a result of this faithfulness unto failure and death. The comparatively formidable expedition, doubtless, was intended to effect a lodgment here, at what might become an excellent base of operations toward the interior of Connecticut, the "war office" at Lebanon, and the fertile and yet unmolested valleys of Massachusetts. The General who led the force was perfectly familiar with the country,—it was his boyhood's home. Norwich was his birthplace, Lebanon a familiar haunt; all the people were old neighbors of his. Who so competent to lead an invasion, if only he had the meanness of

soul to do it; and this man had proved himself capable even of that! The 120 men who failed to hold Fort Griswold, and those who died at their post, by the completeness of their failure put failure also upon whatever plan of lodgment the 1,600 British had who came against them. Benedict Arnold knew Jonathan Trumbull, and dreaded his vengeance, although his forces were weak and ill-trained. Ledyard had reminded him what sort of men he had to deal with. Yet Ledyard and his garrison only knew that they had failed!

But the lesson most likely to move us, after all, lies in the pathos and exquisiteness of their heroism. They were almost all young men. Of fifty-two of their gravestones bearing dates, thirty-six of the dead were under forty, and only sixteen over forty years old. There was indeed one patriarch of seventy-five, who met his death, but not far off from him there fell boys of fifteen and seventeen and nineteen and twenty years only. Most of the fifty-two under forty years were less than thirty years old. This youthfulness of the garrison was the consequence, indeed, of six years of war; but that does not make it any less pathetic. They knew, as they went up the steep hill and shut their gate behind them, that they were a forlorn hope; that there should not be many left of a fighting age after they had fallen. We forget that Ledyard was but forty-three. We forget that a son was born to him on the 27th of August, 1781, and that he left his sick wife, with her child only ten days old, as he went to lose not honor but life. We forget that as he watched the column of assault coming over Packer's Rocks and forming in the Burying Ground, and pausing there before the final rush, he knew they were trampling, he saw them trampling down the new grave of his sweet daughter, just seventeen years old, whose body he had buried there on July 25th, just six weeks before that very 6th of September. Oh, when we think of these things, and how these men were not strangers to each other, as soldiers generally are, but fathers and sons, and brothers and cousins, how the appreciation of their valor and their sacrifices rises! Nor was heroism confined within the fort. No sweeter, sadder story can be found in literature than that of Buddington and his wife and child, who, in their home above the fort, ate breakfast in silence and in haste, and after breakfast he took down the old musket from the deer-horn perch above the mantel, and started for the fort. And all that dreadful day his wife and daughter sat upon the rocks and watched the battle and the conflagration, and never knew for a certainty whether husband and father was dead or alive, until months afterwards the sickly and starved survivor of a prison ship staggered across the familiar threshold, and was at home again. Ah, it is not in ancient times alone, or altogether, that by faith "women received their dead by a resurrection." We forget that these men whom we are accustomed to speak of as Revolutionary soldiers were not regulars, bred to war and heroism, who, scarcely more than too strong, met and repelled, but at last succumbed to, six times their number of

regular and veteran troops. But that recollection, too, heightens their heroism. It is not often in war that the bayonet is used; men do not like cold steel. But in Fort Griswold there was scarcely a wounded man without a bayonet stab; and not a few of them fell, like William Seymour, with his leg shot through and with his thirteen bayonet wounds.

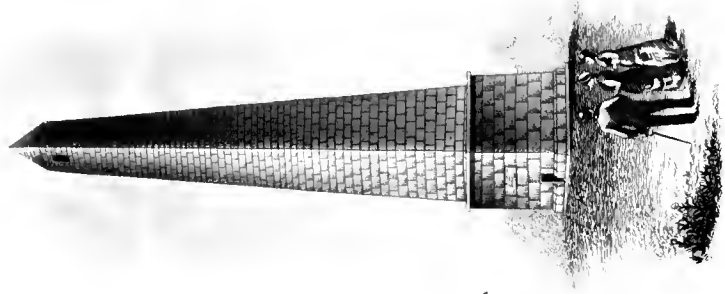
Yet they were only ordinary men, accustomed to do their daily business in these streets. Doubtless there were unworthy men among them; men whose characters would be a blemish upon any cause; men of profanity and lewdness. There are always such in every garrison, in every town. But the men who gave that garrison its character, and who toned it up to the heroic pitch, were worthy men. They were men who feared God and honored Him at their firesides, and in his church, and in their daily lives. They were ordinary men, but good men. It was mere accident, an uncontrollable circumstance, that brought them to the surface and made manifest their devotion. Doubtless the same capacity for heroism now exists in the farmers of Groton as they are to-day. I doubt not that capacity for heroism exists among you. And the lesson of the pathetic and exquisite heroism of Groton Heights is, that we so bear ourselves in these "piping times of peace," that when the hour comes for sacrifice, if it shall come, the men may be ready for the hour! Nay! the hour does come daily. As the writer to the Hebrews draws, from all history, examples of heroism as stimulant for Christian living in quiet or in boisterous times, so I draw stimulant to your fidelity in righteousness from these glory-crowned Americans. "Let us also, seeing we are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, lay aside every weight and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us." Thus, by our faithfulness in that which is least and without fame, we shall become faithful in much also, and enter into the joy of our Lord.

It is fit that I should speak thus at such a time, and at this table of the Lord's Supper. I have offered you an illustration of vicarious sacrifice, — Connecticut suffering, dying, with exquisite heroism, for Virginia. But of how much holier sacrifice for others do this bread and this cup speak.

Do not forget that the gospel of Christ is a gospel for those who have failed, who feel themselves making failure. He came not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance. The whole need not a physician but those that are sick. And as we are touched by the memory of the faithful failure, and the vicarious sacrifice of men one hundred years ago, let us not become dulled to the power of that greater failure and greater sacrifice of the divine Victim, which by God's infinite and constant mercy is so much more familiar to our minds.







The Groton Heights Centennial Committee  
request the honor of your presence  
at Fort Griswold, Groton, Connecticut,  
on the 6<sup>th</sup> of September 1884,  
to participate in celebrating the Cent. Anniversary  
Anniversary of the Battle of Groton Heights.

Invitation Committee.  
J. Geo. Harris \* Hugh M. Coged.  
Benj. Clark \* Charles Perrin.  
James A. Billings.

# GROTON HEIGHTS

## Centennial.

A REPORT OF THE MEMORIAL SERVICES,

*September 6 and 7,*

IN NEW LONDON AND ON GROTON HEIGHTS, IN HONOR  
OF THEIR BRAVE DEFENDERS.

ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

ATTACK ON AND DESTRUCTION OF NEW LONDON, THE  
BATTLE OF GROTON HEIGHTS, AND THE MASSACRE  
IN FORT GRISWOLD, SEPTEMBER 6, 1781.

EDITED BY

CHARLES ALLYN.

NEW LONDON, CONN.:  
CHARLES ALLYN.  
1881.







## THE CENTENNIAL COMMITTEE.

### ITS ORIGIN AND WORK.

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THE success of the services commemorative of the Centennial of the Burning of New London and Groton, the Battle of Groton Heights, and the Massacre in Fort Griswold, is due to the prolonged and united efforts of the gentlemen and ladies composing the "Groton Heights Centennial Committee" putting their hearts into the work ; laboring with a zeal and patience worthy of emulation, they overcame all difficulties, and, despite the predictions of croakers, reached a triumphant and impressive conclusion.

On the 6th of September, 1879, the Groton Monument Association, at its annual meeting, appointed a committee, Messrs. C. L. Avery, R. A. Gray, and Frederic Bill, to coöperate with any other committees and make arrangements for the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Battle of Groton Heights. On the same day, at a grand mass meeting held in the old fort in honor of the occasion, which was opened with prayer by the venerable Jared R. Avery, and furnished with music by the local choirs, an oration was delivered by Rev. L. W. Bacon, of Norwich ; an historical sketch read by John J. Copp, of Groton ; and a short address made by Capt. J. K. Bucklyn, of Mystic Bridge. Such enthusiasm was awakened that there was appointed, without dissent, a Centennial Committee of four, to ask the coöperation of the mayor and citizens of New London and the authorities of Ledyard in their preparations for the observance of the One Hundredth Anniversary of that day, September 6, 1881.

Messrs. John J. Copp, Daniel C. Rodman, John B. Getchell, and Braddock M. Chester, were by vote made the committee,

and given power to add to their number, which privilege of enlisting others similarly interested they availed themselves of on October 28th, when, at a joint meeting with the committee of the Monument Association, Messrs. J. Geo. Harris, E. D. Avery, E. A. Hewitt, and R. A. Morgan, were added.

Again, on November 6th, Messrs. W. H. Potter, Elihu Spicer, Gurdon Gates, David A. Daboll, N. S. Fish, Albert L. Avery, W. H. Miner, and N. T. Allen, were called to assist in the work, at which time they invited New London and Ledyard to coöperate ; T. M. Waller, Mayor of New London, having appointed Messrs. Benjamin Stark, Charles D. Boss, Jr., William H. Tubbs, S. A. Gardner, Jr., George F. Tinker, Charles Allyn, and E. V. Daboll, to represent New London, and the Selectmen of Ledyard naming Christopher A. Brown, John Brewster, Edmund Spicer, Sanford B. Stoddard, Erasmus Avery, and James A. Billings, as members from that town. A joint meeting of all the local committees was held in Groton, November 12, 1879, at which the name was chosen and a permanent general organization effected by the unanimous choice of J. George Harris for President ; John J. Copp, Secretary ; Hon. Benjamin Stark, of New London ; Judge William H. Potter, of Groton ; and Judge John Brewster, of Ledyard, Vice-Presidents ; and Christopher L. Avery, Treasurer. At this meeting the aid of the State was asked, which was granted in the appropriation of \$3,000, and the making arrangements for the presence of the entire force of Connecticut militia.

Meetings of the committee were held from time to time, at which new members were added. As the work grew and the interest extended, sub-committees were appointed and given charge of different parts of the work.

Under their auspices the services on the ninety-ninth anniversary were conducted, at which were collected the largest number of people present for many years.

Hon. Lafayette S. Foster,<sup>1</sup> the orator of the day, delivered

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Foster was born in this county, he was the son of Daniel Foster, a captain in the Revolutionary army ; he had been much in public life, twice mayor of Norwich, ten years a member of the Connecticut As-

a masterly oration, which was his last public effort. In a few days he was prostrated by an illness, terminating fatally on September 19th.

Judge William H. Potter read an original poem, and short speeches were made by Chief Justice M. R. Wait, Hon. John T. Wait, Rev. L. W. Bacon, and others, all tending to arouse enthusiasm for the approaching Centennial.

At the meeting held March 8, 1880, the aid of the ladies of New London, Groton, Ledyard, and Stonington, was asked, and with what heartiness it was granted and how much it assisted in the perfection of the observances, the Loan Exhibition amply testifies.

The Congress of the United States was memorialized, which recognized the efforts of the Centennial Committee and the occasion by the appropriation of \$5,000, for the purpose of repairs on the Groton Heights Monument, and a like amount for the celebrating the 6th of September in a manner befitting the garrison's heroic devotion to duty, and the present peace, prosperity, and greatness of the Commonwealth.

None of these things were accomplished without effort, and while no member of the committee failed to give aid in any way possible, all have not been called on for equally hard work, the most of the labor falling on the officers and chairmen of the various committees. Thus the monument was repaired and improved, the comfort and safety of the expected guests was provided for, the military and naval spectacle, the fireworks, the oration and poem, the music, and last, but not least of the instructive features, the Ladies' Loan Exhibition, were all arranged for, and all required an amount of care and thought which could not be *bought* without a fortune. Yet all was given gladly by these public-spirited members, who still felt a thrill at the thought of the patriotism of family ancestors.

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sembly, twelve years a member of the United States Senate, and acting Vice-President during Andrew Johnson's Presidency, afterward judge of Connecticut Supreme Court for six years. He was President of the New London County Historical Society from its incorporation till his death.

Spite of differences of opinion, harmony has prevailed, and they have succeeded. The event has fully justified the hopes of the most enthusiastic, and it is a memory fraught lesson whose influence can only be one of good. It must lead to a more thorough appreciation of our historic events, and stimulate the feeling of patriotism that will prepare the youth who have participated in it to emulate, should occasion require, the sacrifice that has been so nobly commemorated.

The list of the committee with its divisions, as it stood at the completion of its labors, follows, and is a worthy close of this record, and proper introduction to the report of the events of September 6, 1881, in New London and Groton.





OFFICERS AND MEMBERS.  
OF THE  
GROTON HEIGHTS CENTENNIAL COMMITTEE.

---

*PRESIDENT.*

J. GEORGE HARRIS, Groton.

*VICE-PRESIDENTS.*

|                                 |                                  |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| BENJAMIN STARK, New London.     | ELISHA H. PALMER, Montville.     |
| WILLIAM H. BARNS, New London.   | WILLIAM H. HAYWARD, Colchester.  |
| JEREMIAH HALSEY, Norwich.       | CHARLES P. WHITE, N. Stonington. |
| JEDEDIAH HUNTINGTON, Norwich.   | JAMES M. PECKHAM, Lebanon.       |
| WILLIAM H. POTTER, Groton.      | CHESTER W. PRENTIS, Preston.     |
| JOHN BREWSTER, Ledyard.         | NEHEMIAH C. COOK, Bozrah.        |
| RICHARD A. WHEELER, Stonington. | ROBERT A. GRAY, Groton.          |
| THOMAS L. SHIPMAN, Griswold.    | WILLIAM WHALEY, East Lyme.       |
| ENOCH F. BURR, Lyme.            | JEREMIAH K. ANDREWS, Lisbon.     |
| DANIEL CHADWICK, Old Lyme.      | CHARLES T. WILLIAMS, Salem.      |
| ASHBEL WOODWARD, Franklin.      | N. R. GARDNER, Sprague.          |
| D. H. NEVINS, Waterford.        |                                  |

*SECRETARY.*

JOHN J. COPP, Groton.

*TREASURER.*

CHRISTOPHER L. AVERY, Groton.

## MEMBERS.

## NEW LONDON.

|                          |                       |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| Charles Allyn,           | Walter Learned,       |
| Edward W. Bacon,         | Daniel Lee,           |
| J. W. Barlow,            | A. C. Lippitt,        |
| Charles Barns,           | F. B. Loomis,         |
| B. F. Beckwith,          | D. R. Loosley,        |
| Nathan Belcher,          | J. P. C. Mather,      |
| William Belcher,         | John McGinley,        |
| William P. Benjamin,     | M. R. Moran,          |
| George W. Bentley,       | E. F. Morgan,         |
| Henry R. Bond,           | Fred. S. Newcomb,     |
| Charles D. Boss, Jr.,    | James Newcomb,        |
| Augustus Brandegee,      | Elisha L. Palmer,     |
| R. W. Browne,            | F. H. Parmelee,       |
| A. T. Burgess,           | N. Shaw Perkins,      |
| D'A. Caulkins,           | W. R. Perry,          |
| Alfred H. Chappell,      | Thomas W. Potter,     |
| F. H. Chappell,          | Edward Prentiss, Jr., |
| Leverett D. Clark,       | George Prest,         |
| Robert Coit,             | Walter H. Richards,   |
| Thomas S. Collier,       | George P. Rogers,     |
| W. H. H. Comstock,       | W. W. Sheffield,      |
| Joseph B. Congdon,       | J. T. Shepard,        |
| C. H. Cornell,           | Clark Smith,          |
| H. L. Crandall,          | N. D. Smith,          |
| Elisha V. Daboll,        | Ralph S. Smith,       |
| H. B. Downer,            | C. F. Spaulding,      |
| Charles S. Elliott,      | William H. Starr,     |
| Walter Fitzmaurice,      | Benjamin R. Tate,     |
| Stephen A. Gardner, Jr., | John A. Tibbits,      |
| G. W. Goddard,           | George F. Tinker,     |
| F. H. Harris,            | William B. Thomas,    |
| J. N. Harris,            | William H. Tubbs,     |
| D. B. Hempsted,          | Elisha Turner,        |
| W. A. Holt,              | Thomas M. Waller,     |
| William E. Hopkins,      | Charles B. Ware,      |
| C. B. Jennings,          | C. A. Weaver,         |
| Edwin Keeney,            | Ralph Wheeler,        |
| John T. Lanman,          | George Williams,      |
| S. D. Lawrence,          | Thomas W. Williams.   |

## GROTON.

|                                |                               |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| George Adams,                  | Fred. Gallup,                 |
| N. T. Allen,                   | Francis E. Gallup,            |
| Charles Allen,                 | L. F. Gardner,                |
| William H. Allen,              | Gurdon Gates,                 |
| Albert L. Avery,               | John B. Getchell,             |
| Erasmus D. Avery,              | L. M. Guernsey, Mystic River, |
| James D. Avery, Poquonnoc      | John S. Heath, Mystic River,  |
| Bridge,                        | Elisha A. Hewitt,             |
| Jared R. Avery,                | Clarence Latham,              |
| Latham Avery,                  | G. M. Long,                   |
| Eugene L. Baker,               | Charles Merritt,              |
| Lorenzo D. Baker,              | Orrin E. Miner, Noank,        |
| William H. Beckwith,           | Wm. H. Miner,                 |
| Frederic Bill,                 | W. F. Mitchell,               |
| I. P. Bouse,                   | Daniel Morgan, Poquonnoc      |
| Enoch B. Brown, Mystic,        | Bridge,                       |
| Nelson H. Burrows,             | Ebenezer Morgan,              |
| B. F. Chandler,                | John S. Morgan,               |
| S. A. Chapman,                 | Robert A. Morgan,             |
| Braddock M. Chester,           | Thomas W. Noyes, Mystic       |
| C. P. Chipman,                 | River,                        |
| Willis Clark,                  | Asa Perkins, 2d.              |
| Horace A. Clift, Mystic River, | Daniel C. Rodman,             |
| E. R. Coe,                     | J. B. Saunders,               |
| Belton A. Copp,                | John S. Schoonover, Mystic,   |
| David A. Daboll,               | William A. Smith,             |
| Walter Denison,                | Elihu Spicer, Mystic River,   |
| Charles Fenner,                | Frederick Stein,              |
| Nathan S. Fish,                | Elisha S. Thomas, Poquonnoc   |
| W. R. Fish, Mystic River,      | Bridge.                       |
| James M. Turner.               |                               |

## NORWICH.

|                     |                        |
|---------------------|------------------------|
| William A. Aiken,   | Robert Brown,          |
| Willis R. Austin,   | Increase W. Carpenter, |
| Asa Backus,         | J. B. Carrier,         |
| Leonard W. Bacon,   | Edward Chappell,       |
| John P. Barstow,    | Charles A. Converse,   |
| E. G. Bidwell,      | Zadock C. Crowell,     |
| Henry Bill,         | John L. Denison,       |
| Lorenzo Blackstone, | Charles E. Dyer,       |
| Lucius Brown,       | William G. Ely,        |

*Battle of Groton Heights.*

|                       |                      |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| Edward N. Gibbs,      | Charles T. Palmer,   |
| Augustus Gould,       | Henry L. Parker,     |
| Lyman W. Gould,       | George L. Perkins,   |
| James Lloyd Green,    | A. W. Prentice,      |
| Edward Harland,       | John A. Rathbun,     |
| Robert M. Haven,      | Charles L. Richards, |
| William S. Hempstead, | George C. Ripley,    |
| A. P. Hitchcock,      | John F. Salter,      |
| S. T. Holbrook,       | N. D. Sevin,         |
| Charles H. Kenyon,    | Joseph Selden,       |
| Bela P. Learned,      | E. P. Slocum,        |
| Ebenezer Learned,     | A. P. Sturtevant,    |
| Henry B. Norton,      | John T. Wait,        |
| H. H. Osgood,         | David A. Wells,      |
| William C. Osgood,    | S. A. Whitney,       |

W. M. Williams.

## STONINGTON.

|                                |                             |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Alex. H. Allen, Mystic,        | Alex. S. Palmer,            |
| Jerome S. Anderson,            | H. M. Palmer,               |
| Nathan Babcock, Westerly,      | Noyes S. Palmer,            |
| Peleg S. Barber, Westerly,     | Thomas W. Palmer,           |
| J. K. Bucklyn, Mystic Bridge,  | William L. Palmer,          |
| William Clift,                 | Charles Perrin, Westerly,   |
| Calvert B. Cottrell, Westerly, | E. H. Potter,               |
| Edward C. Denison, Mystic      | Benjamin F. Stanton,        |
| Bridge,                        | George D. Stanton,          |
| Isaac W. Denison,              | N. P. Stanton,              |
| George Henry Greenman,         | Stiles T. Stanton,          |
| Joseph N. Hancox,              | J. W. Thayer,               |
| A. S. Matthews,                | Stephen H. Wheeler, Mystic, |
| Elisha A. Morgan, Mystic,      | Benjamin F. Williams,       |

Ephraim Williams.

## BOZRAH.

|                           |                   |
|---------------------------|-------------------|
| William F. Bailey,        | Charles A. Gager, |
| William H. Fitch, Yantic. | George O. Stead,  |

Albert Waterman.

## LISBON.

|                          |                            |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| Henry Lyon, Greeneville, | J. B. Palmer, Jewett City. |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|

## FRANKLIN.

|                    |                |
|--------------------|----------------|
| Solomon A. Frink,  | H. L. M. Ladd, |
| Henry W. Kingsley, | Gilbert Lamb.  |



## LEBANON.

|                     |                     |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| N. C. Barker,       | Walter G. Kingsley, |
| Joseph C. Crandall, | Nathan B. Williams. |

## PRESTON.

|                             |                            |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Nathan H. Ayer, Norwich,    | C. W. Curtis,              |
| Charles W. Carter, Norwich, | Aaron Lucas, Poquetannock, |
| N. S. Wentworth.            |                            |

## LEDYARD.

|                                    |                               |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| David S. Adams, Norwich,           | William T. Cook,              |
| Erasmus Avery, Preston City,       | S. Ashbell Crandall, Norwich, |
| James A. Billings,                 | Nehemiah M. Gallup, Mystic,   |
| Christopher A. Brown, Gales Ferry, | Edmund Spicer,                |
| Sanford B. Stoddard, Norwich.      |                               |

## SPRAGUE.

|                       |                             |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| M. K. Brewer, Baltic, | J. F. Starkweather, Baltic, |
| Isaac N. Brown,       | Charles D. Weaver.          |

## LYME.

|                 |                           |
|-----------------|---------------------------|
| James A. Bill,  | Elihu Geer,               |
| Henry Comstock, | James L. Raymond,         |
| J. Griffin Ely, | Henry B. Sisson, Hamburg. |

## OLD LYME.

|                   |                   |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| George W. DeWolf, | James Griswold,   |
| W. N. Ely,        | Charles R. Noyes, |
| Thomas S. Swan.   |                   |

## WATERFORD.

|                               |                  |
|-------------------------------|------------------|
| John T. Allyn, New London,    | J. W. Manwaring, |
| N. A. Chapman, New London,    | J. A. Morgan,    |
| E. Starr Chester, New London, | D. H. Nevins.    |

## EAST LYME.

|                    |               |
|--------------------|---------------|
| Charles Babcock,   | W. T. Cutter, |
| Daniel Caulkins,   | Edward Luce,  |
| Moses W. Comstock, | Fred. B. Way. |

## SALEM.

|                  |                    |
|------------------|--------------------|
| F. E. Chadwick,  | Samuel N. Morgan,  |
| John C. Daniels, | Joseph Smith,      |
| E. DeWolf,       | Thomas Strickland, |
| A. O. Gallup,    | Charles Tiffany.   |
| Alva Morgan,     | N. N. Williams.    |

*Battle of Groton Heights.*

## COLCHESTER.

Joseph N. Adams, H. P. Buel,  
H. P. Beers, W. B. Otis,  
Charles H. Rogers.

## NORTH STONINGTON.

Thomas Clark, Dudley R. Wheeler,  
William H. Hillard, Thomas W. Wheeler.

## VOLUNTOWN.

Ezra Briggs, Timothy Parker,  
James M. Cook, C. P. Potter,  
George W. Rouse.

## MONTVILLE.

James Allyn, William G. Johnson,  
R. G. Hooper, R. N. Parish,  
Charles S. Johnson, C. M. Robertson.

## GRISWOLD.

Ira D. Briggs, J. E. Leonard,  
B. H. Browning, H. L. Reade, Jewett City,  
A. B. Burlinson, Jewett City, James O. Sweet, Jewett City.

## CLINTON.

B. G. Northrop.

## LITCHFIELD.

Origen S. Seymour.\*

## BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Latham A. Fish.

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*LADIES' COMMITTEE.*

## GROTON.

|                          |                               |                                 |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Miss Elizabeth M. Avery, | } <i>Executive Committee.</i> | Mrs. Wilson Allyn,              |
| Mrs. Ida S. Campbell,    |                               | Mrs. Albert L. Avery,           |
| Mrs. Mary J. Ramsdell,   |                               | Mrs. Christopher L. Avery,      |
| Mrs. Clara B. Whitman,   |                               | Mrs. Luther D. Avery, Poquonnoc |
| Mrs. Henry Allen,        |                               | Bridge.                         |
| Mrs. Charles Allen,      |                               | Mrs. Lorenzo D. Baker,          |

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\* Died since organization.

|                                     |                               |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Mrs. Frederic Bill,                 | Mrs. Susan Meech,             |
| Mrs. Theophilus Brown,              | Mrs. William H. Miner,        |
| Mrs. E. Frank Coates, Mystic River, | Mrs. Daniel Morgan, Poquonnoc |
| Mrs. John J. Copp,                  | Bridge,                       |
| Mrs. Georgia C. Cottrell, Mystic    | Mrs. Ebenezer Morgan,         |
| Bridge,                             | Mrs. James Morgan,            |
| Miss Catherine B. Copp,             | Mrs. Robert A. Morgan,        |
| Miss Sarah Denison, Mystic River,   | Miss Sarah Morgan, Poquonnoc  |
| Mrs. A. T. Douglass,                | Bridge,                       |
| Mrs. Mary P. Eakin,                 | Mrs. B. M. O'Brien,           |
| Mrs. Frederic Gallup,               | Mrs. Henry O. Perkins,        |
| Mrs. Leander F. Gardner,            | Mrs. Daniel C. Rodman,        |
| Mrs. Robert A. Gray,                | Mrs. Abel H. Simmons, Mystic  |
| Mrs. Elisha A. Hewitt,              | River,                        |
| Mrs. Jane Hewitt,                   | Mrs. John O. Spicer,          |
| Miss Evelyn Holmes, Mystic          | Mrs. William A. Smith,        |
| Bridge,                             | Mrs. Elisha Thomas, Poquonnoc |
| Mrs. Francis Latham,                | Bridge,                       |
| Mrs. Van S. Lindsley,               | Mrs. Wm. H. Wightman, Poquon- |
| Mrs. Samuel Maples,                 | noc Bridge.                   |

NEW LONDON.

|                           |                          |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| Miss Georgia F. Bentley,  | Miss Harriet T. Deshon,  |
| Mrs. Henry R. Bond,       | Mrs. Mary S. Dickinson,  |
| Mrs. Augustus Brandegee,* | Miss Adelaide Lockwood,  |
| Mrs. Hannah S. Chappell,  | Miss Eloise H. Thatcher. |

NORWICH.

|                           |                           |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Mrs. Henry Bill,          | Mrs. Charles L. Richards, |
| Mrs. Gardner Greene,      | Miss Hannah L. Ripley,    |
| Mrs. James L. Greene,     | Miss Mary E. Wait,        |
| Miss Sarah A. Huntington, | Mrs. E. Winslow Williams, |
| Mrs. Theodore Raymond,    | Mrs. David Young.         |

STONINGTON.

|                              |                                   |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Mrs. George W. Noyes, Mystic | Mrs. Charles H. Rhodes, Westerly, |
| Bridge,                      | Miss Maria Stanton,*              |
| Miss Emily A. Wheeler.       |                                   |

LEDYARD.

|                   |                      |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| Mrs. Maria Cook,  | Mrs. George Fanning, |
| Mrs. Anna Gallup. |                      |

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\* Died since organization.

## COMMITTEES.

*Historical.*

Richard A. Wheeler,  
B. G. Northrop,  
John J. Copp,  
L. W. Bacon,

John Brewster,  
Wm. H. Potter,  
William Clift,  
James Allyn,

Wm. T. Cook,  
H. L. Reade,  
Ashbel Woodward,  
Charles Allyn.

*Finance.*

Frederic Bill,  
John Brewster,

George F. Tinker,  
E. V. Daboll,

E. D. Avery.

*Military.*

William H. Tubbs,  
R. A. Gray,

Daniel C. Rodman,  
E. V. Daboll,

Wm. B. Thomas.

*Naval.*

John T. Wait,  
J. George Harris,

Latham A. Fish,  
Alex. S. Palmer,  
Wm. E. Hopkins.

John J. Copp,  
Gurdon Gates,

*Transportation.*

George W. Bentley,  
Robert A. Gray,  
A. S. Mathews,

Stephen A. Gardner, Jr.,  
John B. Getchell,  
C. F. Spaulding,

Elihu Spicer,  
M. R. Moran.

*Invitations.*

J. George Harris,  
H. H. Osgood,

James A. Billings,  
Charles Perrin,

Benjamin Stark.

*Reception.*

Benjamin Stark,  
Christopher A. Brown,  
N. T. Allen,  
Richard A. Wheeler,

Robert Coit,  
Thomas M. Waller,  
Augustus Brandegee,  
Charles Barns,

Benjamin R. Tate,  
A. H. Chappell,  
Frederic Bill,  
H. H. Osgood.

*Music and Schools.*

Alfred H. Chappell,  
Stephen H. Wheeler,

N. T. Allen,  
J. B. Saunders,

Charles S. Elliott,  
C. B. Jennings.

*Entertainment.*

Albert L. Avery,  
R. A. Morgan,  
Braddock M. Chester,

Erasmus Avery,  
Benjamin F. Williams,  
Benjamin R. Tate,  
George M. Long.

Sanford B. Stoddard  
Ebenezer Morgan,  
George Williams,

*Decorations, Tents, Seats, etc.*

|                   |                   |                  |
|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| Elisha A. Hewitt, | John B. Getchell, | Charles E. Dyer. |
| William H. Miner, | N. S. Fish,       |                  |

*Civic Bodies.*

|                    |                |                  |
|--------------------|----------------|------------------|
| William H. Potter, | Edmund Spicer, | Charles B. Ware, |
| Charles Allyn,     | N. T. Allen,   | F. H. Parmalee.  |

*Repairs on Fort and Monument.*

|                  |                     |               |
|------------------|---------------------|---------------|
| J. W. Barlow,    | Nehemiah M. Gallup, | E. S. Thomas. |
| David A. Daboll, | Nathan S. Fish.     |               |

*Programme.*

|                                |                       |                   |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| Daniel C. Rodman, <sup>1</sup> | Christopher A. Brown, | Benjamin R. Tate. |
| Elisha V. Daboll,              | N. T. Allen,          |                   |

*Publication.*

|               |                |
|---------------|----------------|
| John J. Copp, | Charles Allyn. |
|---------------|----------------|

*Illumination and Fireworks.*

|                 |                   |               |
|-----------------|-------------------|---------------|
| M. R. Moran,    | Fred. S. Newcomb, | Fred. Gallup. |
| Walter Learned, | John S. Morgan    |               |

*Admission of Members.*

|                    |                       |                     |
|--------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| George W. Bentley, | A. W. Prentice,       | Richard A. Wheeler. |
| Hugh H. Osgood,    | Christopher L. Avery, |                     |

*On Rules and Regulations.*

|                   |                              |                 |
|-------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|
| J. George Harris, | Christopher L. Avery,        | Nathan S. Fish, |
| Clara B. Whitman, | and the Programme Committee. |                 |

*On the Press.*

|                    |                     |                     |
|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| John A. Tibbits,   | Walter Fitzmaurice, | David S. Adams,     |
| Stiles T. Stanton, | Thomas S. Collier,  | John A. Rathbun,    |
| John G. Crump,     | A. P. Hitchcock,    | Jerome S. Anderson, |
| John McGinley,     | James Hall,         | L. M. Guernsey.     |

*Committee of New London County Historical Society.*

|                  |                     |                  |
|------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| David A. Wells,  | Richard A. Wheeler, | Edward W. Bacon, |
| Henry Bill,      | William Belcher,    | Nathan Belcher,  |
| J. P. C. Mather, | William H. Starr,   | Daniel Lee.      |

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<sup>1</sup> Excused from duty at his own request, on account of ill health. Mr. Daboll acted as chairman.

## THE CELEBRATION, SEPTEMBER 6.

THE first day of the Centennial Celebration was a grand success in every respect. There was not a suspicion of failure in any feature of the programme. Everything went as smoothly as though it had been carefully rehearsed for months.

The crowds were simply immense. The lowest estimate places the number in attendance, on both sides of the river, at 30,000. Enthusiasts say there were 100,000. Regular and special trains that came into the city from early morning until afternoon were jammed. One train on the Shore Line from the west brought thirty-five cars, all crowded almost to suffocation. The Northern road was taxed to its utmost capacity: eighty-four of the one hundred and twenty-five crowded cars drawn to New London in the morning trains were returned loaded before ten o'clock at night. Not a single accident is reported, — a good record for the management of the road, one of whose trains of eighteen cars had two hundred and forty-nine people in two cars. Other roads were equally fortunate. All the towns in New London County emptied their population into this city. Thousands came by team and hundreds by foot from many miles away. The weather was oppressive and peculiar. All through the day the sky was of a dull, dead yellow, and old mariners with tropical experience said that everything portended a cyclone or a hurricane. For this atmospheric phenomenon the day will pass into history as the "yellow day," and with it will be associated the centennial of Arnold's raid on New London and Groton.

From the parade Groton Heights were scarcely visible. But neither cyclone nor hurricane came, and nothing occurred to prevent the carrying out of all the details of the programme. The decorations of public buildings and private residences were quite general, and in many cases elaborate and elegant.

The large crowd was quite as orderly as could have been

expected ; but the police found plenty of occupation, and before noon the station-house was taxed to the utmost.

The first movement as an earnest of the military business of the day was the muster of the Veterans at Armory Hall, on Bank Street. These old soldiers, who had acted independently of the military authorities and perfected their own organization, were promptly on hand at eight o'clock, armed and equipped as the law directs, and, headed by the Moodus Drum Corps, dressed in the old Continental uniform, and playing "Yankee Doodle," started for the field of operations on Town Hill, accompanied by a large concourse of people on either side of the street, inspired by the martial strains of the drummers, and for the moment imbued with the spirit that longs for great deeds, as their military tread and bearing gave evidence. There were two companies of veterans, A and B, commanded respectively by Captains T. F. Underwood and C. H. Smitten, and numbering about thirty each, all of whom had seen service with accompaniments of real fire and lead in the late war. And to these old soldiers is due a full measure of praise for aiding in the success of the day, and giving dignity to part of the programme on which many were inclined to look with ridicule. In fact, the question of the sham battle had previously given rise to discussion, and the opinions were many and various as to the practicability of carrying through to success a movement which involved a thorough knowledge of tactics, and covered a long line of territory, over rough fields and walls ; to a complete realization of the intention of those in command, and to the requirements of public sentiment, the strictest fidelity to historical precedent was an absolute necessity. To the credit of all concerned be it said that, from first to last, from the appearance of the enemy at Fort Nonsense, on Ocean Avenue, to the conclusion of the engagement at Post Hill, the most sanguine could have expected nothing more complete, spirited, and realistic, nor the most captious been at greater loss to find a spot to point the finger of criticism, than in this most memorable sham battle, when the heroic defence of this old town was reënacted in commemoration of its one hundredth anniversary.

It required no great stretch of the imagination, as the Veterans, ununiformed and armed with muskets, took up their march for the engagement on Town Hill, and the shrill fife and resonant drum woke the echoes of the mind, to picture the scene on the morning one hundred years ago, when the sturdy sons of that generation flew to arms to repel invasion and defend their homes and families; the patient trust and hope of the women turned to terror when the issue was declared for the enemy, the abandonment of home and property, the fleeing to the outskirts of the town, and the return to find but ashes. The fruits of years of thrift, economy, and toil, swept away by the fell destroyer, fire, in a day, with nothing before them but to commence over again at the bottom of the ladder.

The Veterans arrived on the ground at the appointed hour and, after a short rest and instructions from their officers, were deployed as skirmishers in the field on the east side of the road where was situated Fort Nonsense in the olden time. It was apparent to the unmilitary even that the Veterans, in the parlance of the day, had "been there" before, the movements in the field being executed rapidly and without confusion or hesitation. Just previous to the engagement a long train of flat cars, loaded down with soldiers, had been seen approaching drawn by two engines over the Shore Line Railroad, and from these the Third Regiment, C. N. G., representing the enemy, had unloaded, and, immediately after, the boom of cannon and the rapid discharge of musketry was heard from the direction of Fort Trumbull, which was the signal for a rally for defence on the part of the handful of Americans in response to the assembly beaten in the road. The artillery of the Americans had come into position and unlimbered in the field to the north of the infantry position, and the indications pointed to warm work soon to follow. The first appearance the enemy made was a skirmish line from the road into the field, advancing and firing rapidly, the Americans falling a little back and returning a spirited fire, the big guns taking an active part and throwing imaginary shot in a manner suggestive of shrieks and



wounds. In the mean time the main body of the enemy, reinforced by the companies detached for the assault on Fort Trumbull, came dashing up the hill, led by that fierce, untamed spirit, Benedict Arnold, and firing volleys in quick succession, and the game is up for the patriots at this point, who are forced to retreat, abandoning Fort Nonsense and two field-pieces to the attacking party, who with wild hurrahs possess themselves of the spoils and advance up the road in pursuit of the retreating Americans. The patriot band had taken the road down Town Hill, up Cape Ann Lane to Livingstone Avenue, and up to Manwaring Hill, where they again came to a stand, and, planting their two field-pieces in position to rake the hill, deployed the infantry half way down the hill and to the right of the battery. The enemy, meanwhile, had come into position with the captured guns on the side hill on the opposite side of the valley, and opened fire, which was hotly returned from the position on Manwaring Hill. The British infantry, at this juncture, are seen approaching across the fields at double-quick, taking no account of ditches and stone walls, and, under cover of their artillery fire, form at the foot of the hill for a charge up the hill to carry the American position. By this time both sides had warmed to their work in more senses than one, and no more thrilling and blood-stirring scene can be imagined than the attack, repulse, and final defeat of the Americans at this point, as they were compelled to beat a retreat over the wall and into the road in hot haste. The enemy came rushing up the hill like a whirlwind, and poured over the wall like a torrent, making the welkin ring with their shouts of triumph, and fastening on to the two guns which the patriots were unable to save. No time is supposed to be lost, and the British are soon on the heels of the flying Americans, the road followed being by the Second Burying-Ground and along Lewis Street, the artillery in the van. The retreating Americans have made good use of their time, and again rallied for a last final struggle. Taking up a position on Post Hill they await the advance of the enemy, who, flushed with victory, have followed their road in eager pursuit, and planting the gun at the top of the hill

await the arrival of the supporting infantry. Before they have unlimbered, the head of the attacking column is visible rounding the corner, in close order, at a double-quick, and are soon in position at the foot of the hill on the left of their artillery. The Americans take a position a little way down the hill, deeming it safer than the bold relief on the top, and the action opens with a brisk and rattling fire of musketry from both sides, the artillery at the same time belching flame, and it becomes apparent that the day is over on this side for the patriot band. Seeing their advantage the enemy close up and make a tumultuous charge up the hill, the Americans standing their ground until nearly close quarters, when they reluctantly retreat, turning and firing parting shots as they run. This ends the battle on the New London side of the river, and the line of march is taken up for the bank by both forces, the British endeavoring to prevent the Americans from reinforcing Fort Griswold, in which they are unsuccessful.

Praise was showered on the heads of the happy and excited Veterans who contributed so much to the unexpectedly grand spectacular warfare, and the boys in blue, the gallant Third, were the recipients of smiles and favors from New London's fairest daughters. And so passed the morning of the day that a hundred years ago brought wounds and death to the "fathers of the hamlet" and fire and devastation to their homes. Here a delay occurred which was rendered less tedious by the mid-day national salute from Fort Trumbull and the nine war and revenue ships in the harbor.

It was much after the appointed time when the regiments got into position for the attack, occupying as nearly as possible the position of the assaulting party of one hundred years ago. Once there, the incidents of the fight were reproduced as nearly as possible, though from the fog and smoke the opposing forces were often invisible to each other, the parties, with flags of truce going into and coming out of the fog like ghosts.

At this point the air cleared for a moment, when the advance to the assault began. Then the artillery in the fort

opened in earnest, and the spectators who had lingered near the guns made haste to stand aside.

The few men left to defend the redoubt soon came running in with the swabs and rammers, which was the signal that the British had captured that point, but the action was invisible.

Soon a line of fire and noise, in the midst of which shapes like men were seen, swept up toward the fort. Here was a scene to be remembered, the sheets of flame from unseen cannon, with the roar of their rapidly repeated explosions; the almost steady flash of musketry all along the parapet as the volunteer defenders fired with the rapidity and earnestness of real work, — some actually aiming, while others seemed only anxious to explode as many cartridges as possible.

The advancing column came on steadily, firing by file, by company, and at will in different regiments, halting at walls and fences to straighten the lines and fire a volley, then scaling the obstruction and making a rush for the next cover with a shout, till the last wall was cleared, when, with a rush and yell they swept over the open space down into the ditch and up the parapet, while the right wing companies on a run swung around to the north of the work and went in through the gate firing a last fusilade as the parade was reached, — recalling to the ears of the spectators the sounds of the massacre when, one hundred years ago, "the enemy mounted the parapet and discharged their guns," and were afterwards "discharging their guns through the barrack windows."

This firing soon ceased, and the hand-shaking of perspiring assailants and defenders began.

The utmost good feeling prevailed, and all voted the sham-fight a success as far as each one saw. Thus while no one saw it all, every one saw some part of it, and all were equally well pleased with a *battle as a spectacle*.

After the taking of Fort Griswold the troops, regular, militia, and volunteers, were given a bountiful lunch in a tent prepared for the occasion.

While the sham fight was in progress General Sherman, General Hawley, and other distinguished guests witnessed

it from an observation stand erected on the roof of the house at the Monument.

After it was over they proceeded with other invited guests to the guests' tent, where the tables were bountifully supplied, and enjoyed a refreshing collation. It was now nearly two o'clock, and thousands had assembled in the grand pavilion to enjoy the exercises appointed to commence at that hour.

#### EXERCISES IN THE TENT.

After an admirably executed overture by the band of the First United States Artillery, Mr. J. George Harris, President of the Committee, rose, as chairman of the meeting, and addressed the audience as follows :—

*"Ladies and Gentlemen:* In behalf of the committee appointed here two years ago by the people and the Groton Monument Association to devise ways and means for repairing and improving the Monument, and to make suitable arrangements for celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the battle of Groton Heights, I extend to this great assembly a most cordial welcome.

"Aided and encouraged in their work by the Government, the State, and the People, they have done their duty, and their report is before you in the reconstructed classic shaft that stands here beside us, and in these ample preparations for this Centennial Celebration.

"We are glad to be instrumental in adding another to the several commemorative centennials that have occurred within the last six years, awakening our entire country to a lively sense of the valor and patriotism of the men of the American Revolution, contributing to heal the wounds occasioned by sectional strife, and renewing the ancient bonds of our common nationality over our widely-extended area of human freedom.

"It has been said, by the greatest of American historians, when referring to the gallant defenders of Fort Griswold, that "their courage and love of country should be celebrated not only at the end of a century, but of a thousand years." And if, in the onward roll of the centuries, their grateful posterity

shall assemble here to celebrate the tenth centennial, we may rest assured that the Monument we have so handsomely enlarged and so firmly strengthened, according to the admirable plans of a distinguished engineer of the army, will still stand here on this granite hill in its silent but eloquent grandeur, to tell them the same story of the 'times that tried men's souls' that it tells us here to-day.

"We come together, not as did the bereaved kindred of the slain for the first half century after the conflict, to spend the anniversary in mournfully lingering around the broken walls of the old fortification; but rather do we come with hearts full of gratitude for national blessings, and with becoming pride and patriotic exultation, as we reflect on their great and good deeds, study the exemplary lessons they have left us, and teach the rising generations to emulate their examples. Sacred to their memory we bring with us our best offerings, for that they nobly participated in laying the superstructure of our Republican government so broad and deep in the cement of perpetual union, that neither foreign invasion nor domestic convulsions can shake it from its solid foundations,—

"They never die who fall in Freedom's cause :  
The well-fought field may soak their gore,  
Their heads may sodden in the sun,  
But still their spirits live and serve  
As guides along the pathway of mankind."

"This is the people's entertainment, to which everybody is respectfully invited, and everybody is more than welcome."

The stillness of the immense audience during the delivery of these words of welcome was interrupted only by the rustlings of applause at the close of each period.

At its close the chairman introduced the Rev. Jared R. Avery, of Groton, who offered the following prayer :—

"Great and eternal God, we bow before Thy throne as the creatures of yesterday, but with adoring views of Thee as the Creator and Upholder of the universe; and we acknowledge Thee as the God of worlds, of nations, and of armies; as the three in one by whom our fallen race has been redeemed; by

whom our once weak and oppressed country has been set free and exalted to the first rank among the nations. Blessed be Thy name for bringing our ancestors to these lands of the West; for giving them harmonious intercourse with the aborigines, and prosperity in the cultivation of the soil. We thank Thee, that, when foreign injustice and cruelty bore heavily upon these youthful colonies, Thou didst impart courage to resist, and to this resistance Thou didst give success. May the great expenditure of treasure and toil and blood, through which this success was achieved, stimulate and augment the love of country. May this one hundredth anniversary of the bloody scenes upon these grounds to-day observed lead us to realize the cost of our present blessings and to prize them as we ought.

"May we be so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of our Revolutionary fathers as successfully to resist all approaches of our country's foe.

"May peace and prosperity continue in our land so that every good cause shall advance and keep pace with the rapid increase of our already vast population.

"O Lord God of Hosts, we praise Thee, that Revolutionary patriots were stimulated by pure Christianity, and failed not to commit their cause to Thee, whose favor insured their success. To Thee do we commit our cause to-day, earnestly imploring forgiveness for past ingratitude, unbelief, and unfaithfulness. May the divine blessing rest upon this convocation, and a double portion of the spirit of '76 pervade the nation. Preserve Thou us from pestilence, from famine, and the sword. Preserve Thou this Union's chief magistrate, and restore him to vigorous health in answer to prayer. May the interests of every department of civil government be promoted, and the nations of the world be made wiser and better through the hallowed influence of these United States. O Father, grant these and all other blessings of Thy providence and grace through our Lord Jesus Christ.

"Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost; as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen."

Then the "Star-Spangled Banner" was sung by a chorus of choirs and children from New London and Groton, led by the band and aided by the audience; this was followed by the poem of Rose Terry Cooke, read by Rev. T. J. Lee, of Winsted.

## GROTON MASSACRE CENTENNIAL POEM.

LIBERTY! dream of man's short eager day.  
Goddess! who on the distant mountain tops  
Out-shinest dawn, preluding all the light.  
Vision of God, power inaccessible,  
Calm is thy brow and silent are thy lips,  
Spotless thy garment, and thy lifted eyes  
See, over all the unequal heights of time,  
A coming hour of glory and of triumph.  
A light ineffable, a sacred peace,  
When God's great freedom shall possess the earth,  
And God's frail children stand erect and pure.  
Here at thy feet, through all the flying years,  
Dash the fierce surges of the world's impatience;  
The tidal wave of agony and blood,  
The flight and following of slave and tyrant,  
The parted sea, the shore of want and death,  
The futile struggle, the delayed success,  
Loss, terror, anguish, and a blank despair,  
That the grave heals, the dreamless grave alone.  
Yet, Unattainable! thou smilest on  
With Heaven's high peace upon thy gracious brow,  
Unmoved, unfearing, eminent, secure,  
The promise of a future yet too far:  
Pledge that our dream is true, because we dream it.  
Beholding thee aloft in stainless splendor,  
We dare to tell what men have borne for thee,  
What blood for thee was spilt, what heroes died,  
Before the teller and the told were here.  
Yet thou wert here: thy hand the strife impelled,  
The deadly strife that saved their sacred honor,  
Their children yet to come, their native land;  
And made their memory a proud, sad story.  
For us to treasure, worship, and attain.

Hark !

The valley slept in peace.  
Over it brooded the morning-star,  
Shining soft in the heavens afar ;  
And the cornfields' rich increase  
Waved in glittering rustling blades,  
The dark woods murmured in their glades  
With the murmur of the dawn ;  
And the breath of night withdrawn,  
Dropping dew from the dripping leaves,  
The lapping tide on the beach that grieves,  
The sudden cry of a waking bird,  
The rustle and hush where a squirrel stirred,  
The salt sea-breeze and the forest's balm,  
Sighing softly across the calm.  
Hark ! on the startled ear,  
A sharp short note of fear :  
The waker's heart stood still,  
And the watcher, with a thrill,  
Waited to hear ;  
It was not the war-whoop's snarling yell,  
Nor the sudden throb of the tocsin bell :  
One stroke, — but one :  
The boom of a gun :  
Then, quick as leaping flame, another  
Answered the other.  
“ Help ! ” they said,  
In tones of dread :  
“ The fleet of the foe  
Comes in below ! ”  
But ere the signal sound had rolled  
Its woful warning to field and fold,  
Its speech had a ready traitor told ;  
And another roar  
From the further shore  
Echoed and fell ;  
And still another,  
Cain to his brother,  
The challenging of hell !  
The inland forts that heard the sound,  
Wandering upward and around,



Answered not to the wild dismay  
 Of the startled dwellers by the bay :  
 No signal this that called for aid, —  
 Their crops were ripe and their sheaves unmade,  
 And none to succor or fight went down.  
 But all about the harbor-town  
 Well they knew the note of war,  
 When cannon thundered near and far,  
 And ships rode thick by the light-house bar.  
 Women started from their sleep,  
 Men sprang out to the farm-house door,  
 Out from the village homes they pour,  
 Up to the hill-top, down to the shore.  
 Hurrying here, and hurrying there,  
 For death and slaughter are in the air,  
 And no man's failing heart may dare  
 To linger behind and tend the sheep,  
 Nor any woman a man to keep  
 Back from battle with clinging prayer.  
 One, across the din and scare,  
 Shouts to her husband, —

“Stop, I say!”

“Why do you call me from the way?”

“Just one word, then follow their track :

Don't come home to me *shot in the back!*”

Onward the ragged regiment,  
 Like an angry wave of the harbor, went,  
 Bare feet bleeding, breath all spent,  
 But a fight for freedom was what they meant.  
 And now, by the blaze of the town on fire,  
 By the black smoke rising from the pyre  
 Of toil-won treasure and hearts' desire,  
 By thundering cannon and savage yell,  
 The country side knew what befell  
 The town and fortresses loved so well :  
 And women and children fled like bees  
 Before the howl of a northern breeze, —  
 Fled away from their burning hives,  
 Fled for their babies' precious lives ;  
 While in the fortress on the hill,  
 Fathers and husbands with right good will

Fought in the fury of despair ;  
Sons and brothers with panting breath  
Side by side rushed on to death :  
Boys cheered on by their father's shout,  
Pouring their fresh young life-blood out ;  
And up the trampled field without  
With flying banners, and bayonet set,  
With drum, and trumpet, and waving plume,  
Steadily on like the day of doom,  
Against rude bastion and parapet  
The British devils their onset made,  
Ranks of traitor and renegade,  
Hireling Hessian and English serf,  
Surging over the hill-side turf,  
Soon with their hot blood to be wet ;  
While safe and high on Winthrop's tomb  
Arnold the traitor, cursed of man,  
Watched how the cruel strife began,  
And laughed when the scarlet river ran,  
That rose in the hearts of friend and kin,  
But drowned his soul in the flood of sin.  
Over against him, the fort within,  
LEDYARD the hero held his men  
Up to their work with a grip of steel :  
His land's true lover for woe or weal  
Unto the death he served her then.  
"Honor or life ? then honor first,"  
The parting word from his lips that burst,  
When the cannon's call with awful stress  
Thundered across his peaceful waking ;  
And like the day of judgment breaking  
Fire, and terror, and distress  
Leapt from the bosom of the night,  
And filled the land with wild affright.  
But hands were few if hearts were strong ;  
Strength and numbers will win for wrong,  
And might wreck right till the world gives out.  
Storming up the rough redoubt,  
Over the bastion with yell and shout,  
Swept the line of the conquering foe,  
And the starry flag lay trampled low,

Never again its watch to keep.  
Murder gleamed in the leader's face :  
"Who is commander? yield your sword!"  
With bending head, and courteous word,  
No plea for quarter, or ruth, or grace,  
The brave man offered his reddened blade :  
But one quick stroke the murderer made  
Sure and sharp through that noble breast,  
And the hero's spirit was at rest :  
Life for honor! he loved it best.  
Now with an angry tiger's leap,  
The victors sprang on their helpless prey ;  
Right in the smiling face of day  
Slaughter, rapine, and fury stood  
Deep in rivers of kindred blood.  
Mercy, pity, honor fled  
With hidden faces before their tread ;  
Shrieks, and groans, and mortal cries  
Shuddered up to the placid skies,  
And the living held their breath  
As the dying prayed for death :  
And the dead men fell away,  
Face downward to the clay.  
    Oh, day too sad and long,  
Day of despair and wrong,  
Drunk with death's purple wine  
Poured out as a wasting flood,  
Mad with the draught of blood  
Were hell's insatiate brood.  
The living and dead they hewed  
With pitiless sword,  
And taunting word,  
With scoff and sneer  
In the dying ear,  
Till the weary day's decline ;  
Then with their captives and their spoil,  
With drunken laughter and loud turmoil,  
Down to the blue and silent bay  
The conquering murderers took their way,  
But on that ghastly hill  
The dead lay cold and still.

Dead ! dead ! but yet they speak ; oh, cruel Mother !  
Calling to thee with lips of living wrath,  
“ Curséd be he who slays his brother,  
Curséd the hand that points his path.  
Were we not thine, — nursed on thy knees, —  
Cast out to tempt the wintry seas ?  
Here have we wrought in peace,  
Here have we found release.  
What had we done to these ?  
Mother ! Medea ! murderess ! we are thine.”  
And England’s haughty heart,  
Hardened in strife and mart,  
Scorned the sad cry.  
But widowed lives and souls in pain,  
Children weeping for the slain,  
Gathered up the dread refrain :  
“ Oh, cruel Mother ! where is our brother ?  
Why is our father dead upon the plain ? ”  
Alas for the former days,  
For the anger and the woe  
That vanished long ago,  
And left for us below  
Only their good and praise.  
Alas for the Mother’s ways !  
She sowed her dragon’s teeth  
And quick up-sprung the spears,  
The iron spears of death,  
With iron hearts beneath,  
And the war-storm’s angry breath.  
But these with blood and tears  
Watered the sod for years,  
And the beautiful bloom of peace,  
The corn and wine’s increase,  
Were the harvest of their fears.  
Look at these spires and towers !  
These goodly fields and farms  
Where never a shot alarms :  
At the merchant and the mariner  
Whose busy toil no fear can stir,  
The wide blue bay, the stately ships,  
And the trailing pennon of steam that slips

In and out by the winding river :  
Look at the thousand smokes that quiver  
Up from this lovely land of ours,  
From quiet hearths beside whose blaze  
Linger long, peaceful, happy days ;  
They bought them with their lives,  
The dead who lie around  
This consecrated ground ;  
In these their life survives.  
Give them their meed of laud and tears,  
The tribute of a hundred years.

And this is history.  
An echo from the cry of man,  
Since first his vibrant voice began  
To stir the silent vaults of air :  
Up-rising here, recurring there,  
Through time and space forever ringing,  
Across the gulf of centuries springing,  
Humanity's sad tale to bear.  
In every tone the old repeat :  
"With one red blood all true hearts beat.  
There is one honor and one faith,  
To every knightly soul one breath,  
To every hero one great death."  
It tells to-day in ardent strain,  
Of patriot sires who fought in vain  
Here on this green and fortified hill,  
And re-repeats the story still,  
Of other, later knights, who stood  
Loyal in that rebellious flood  
When Lincoln called for men :  
When lonely Sumter lost her flag,  
And not one true man dared to lag,  
But like the lover to his bride  
Sprang forward to their leader's side,  
Bearded the panther in its den,  
And true to old ancestral pride,  
Even as their fathers, fought and died.

For sacred Liberty.  
And up again from the silent dead  
Comes Benedict Arnold, hand and head ;

Rebel chieftain to plan and plot,  
 Rude assassin with pistol shot ;  
 Traitor here, and murderer there ;  
 Or wily schemer, afraid to dare,  
 But quick to lay his poisonous snare,  
 And fire another, vile and weak,  
 To act the treason he dare not speak :  
 Deaf to the Voice which still and low  
 Whispers a word of dread and woe  
 That veils the eyes of the seraphim :  
 "Who hateth his brother murders him."  
 These shall a smitten country send  
 Down to their lives' unblessed end,  
 Hand in hand with him who sold  
 Their country's freedom for British gold,  
 And ages on ages yet unborn  
 Point to their names with curse and scorn.  
 And when once more the sword of strife  
 Threatened and rent our country's life, —  
 When once again for our rights we bled,  
 And strewed our meadows with precious dead, —  
 Again the heart of the Mother-land  
 Hardened itself against our woe,  
 Held to greet us no friendly hand,  
 Aided and comforted our foe.  
 Unforgiving and haughty still,  
 To the child that thwarted her iron will.  
 When, oh when ! shall the echo cease,  
 And the severed nations be bound in peace ?

Rest on, O heroes ! in your silent slumber :  
 Hail and farewell, ye mighty moveless dead !  
 Long as her centuries earth shall know and number,  
 Green be the laurel boughs above ye spread.

Your course is sped ; your record man remembers,  
 And God's own hand your sacred dust shall keep ;  
 Though all the flame hath left those mortal embers,  
 Upward it sprang, with bright, immortal leap.

Sleep in your country's heart ; forever holy,  
 Your memory shines along the slopes we tread ;

Another hundred years their incense lowly  
Ere long shall o'er your sculptured honors shed.

And we who bring you grace and salutation,  
We too shall sleep ; and nobler tribes of men  
Shall offer here the homage of a nation  
Rich with a wisdom far beyond our ken.

But still, as years return, shall man returning  
Fight, fall, despair, or chant the conqueror's psalm ;  
Still the same light in patriot hearts be burning,  
And Heaven, still just, bestow the martyr's palm.

After this, Keller's American Hymn was sung, when, in response to the wishes of Governor Bigelow and others, the Rev. Dr. Leonard Bacon, of New Haven, offered the following prayer for President Garfield : " Let us pray.

" O God, Thou art our dwelling-place in all generations. Our fathers trusted in Thee, and Thou didst hear and deliver them. By their sufferings and their sacrifices, and by all that Thou hast wrought for us and the world, Thou hast taught us to make Thee our God and to call upon Thy name. We lift up our hearts to Thee in accord with the millions of people who, to-day, are calling upon Thee in behalf of Thy servant, the President of these United States, who in Thy wisdom has been permitted to approach the gates of death. O God, we thank Thee that his life has been spared through so much suffering, infirmity, and pain, to this day, and we beseech Thee to spare this precious life and return Thy servant to the use of that high office to which by Thy providence he was called by the people. Give him life, strength, and wisdom, and all honor in the administration of the government, and grant that under his direction and guidance the people may have even greater prosperity, and that their hearts may be knit in the bonds of union and fraternity. O God, we beseech Thee to hear the prayers of Thy people and grant their request. Grant us our petition in behalf of Thy servant, and we will rejoice in Thy goodness to Thy people. We ask it, believing Thou art a God who hears prayer, and through

Christ, the world's Redeemer, to whom be glory to the world's end. Amen."

General Joseph R. Hawley, United States Senator from Connecticut, being introduced as the orator of the day, spoke to the listening thousands as follows : —

THE ORATION.

*Mr. President and Fellow-Citizens:* We have assembled to celebrate the centennial anniversary of the largest and most important military engagement that ever took place within the borders of our industrious, peace-loving, and liberty-loving Commonwealth. Happily we come with emotions of pride and gratitude, as to a festival in honor of Connecticut and its whole history. To those who were then our enemies, now, we hope, our friends forever, the capture of Fort Griswold, on Groton Heights, September 6, 1781, was a victory, they said, but they went away writing regrets and apologies to civilization and to posterity, and found that they had but hammered into finer gold the patriotism of New England; they had but furnished a new inspiration to the cause they came to destroy. To the noble souls who laid down their bodies in the bloody dust right here, or by divine favor survived, and to their wives, children, and neighbors, it was a defeat; they acknowledged, a sore and sad defeat, a bloody and barbarous massacre; but their children's children and their neighbors of the good State, and the worshippers of high courage and self-sacrifice from distant places, have daily come here on pilgrimages for a century, in honor of the dead, and for their own spiritual refreshment and elevation.

From this goodly height that lofty monumental column looks over the noble harbor out upon one of the busiest of the great highways of commerce, which is only in the beginning of its activities, and from generation to generation increasing multitudes passing by shall recall that glorious sacrificial day of freedom.

We have not come here as patrons to confer favors and graciously bestow praises. We are here to vindicate and jus-



tity ourselves. Poor indeed must a people be, if any such can be imagined, who care for none of these things ; who observe no sacred days of patriotism ; who build no monuments ; who ask what is all this worth ? — who say, “ The dead cannot hear us nor repay us, why do we address them ? ” — who inquire “ Why is all this precious ointment wasted ? ” But it is not that we may tally one more formal duty discharged that we are gathered ; we are glad and proud that Connecticut has ground so consecrated ; we thank God that men lived in 1781, who so justified the traditional beliefs and civilization of New England ; we are willing to believe that they see this great assemblage, and hear our felicitations and congratulations, our songs of praise and the exultant thunder of our peaceful artillery. We come to think with renewed wonder of the marvellous growth of the nation they founded in feebleness, to indulge solemnly, if not with dread anxiety, in visions of the awful grandeur of the possible and probable future of this land. We come to reflect that our country will steadily need in us and our successors the manhood and high devotion of our ancestors, and to renew our vows of supreme consecration to its highest good in peace or war.

Before attempting to sketch the prominent features of the battle and its attendant skirmishes and conflagrations, with which the good people of this vicinity, if not all my hearers, are very familiar, I have thought it not unprofitable to glance at the history of the Colony of Connecticut and to seek for some of the causes that made it a body of people compact in civil and religious organization, well disciplined, steady in their adherence to law in times of peace, promptly obedient to all the demands of war, and indomitable, save by annihilation, in the defence of their rights.

As usual in New England, the first permanent settlers of Connecticut came here bearing with them church organizations and officers. They were specially fortunate in the character of the early clergymen, who were in general men of excellent education, strong in the highest elements of character, products of the long agitation in England in behalf of civil and religious freedom. Trumbull, the historian, affirms that

they were all republicans, that they rejected with abhorrence the doctrines of the divine rights of kings, passive obedience, and non-resistance. With Sydney and Hampden, and all that school of philosophers and statesmen, they believed that all government of civil power was in the people. There was Thomas Hooker, the spiritual, intellectual, and political leader and master of his flock, who, in the early sermon of which, fortunately, we still possess the notes, laid down the fundamental doctrine of the distant Republic.

At the opening of the General Court, May 31, 1738, Mr. Hooker, pastor of the first church of the colony, preached the annual election sermon, having the text before him: "Take you wise men and understanding, and I will make them rulers over you." Upon which the chief points were these:—

Doctrine I. That the choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people by God's own allowance.

II. The privilege of election, which belongs to the people, therefore must not be exercised according to their humors, but according to the blessed will and law of God.

III. They who have power to appoint officers and magistrates, it is in their power, also, to set the bounds and limitations of the power and place unto which they call them.

Reasons. I. Because the foundation of authority is laid, firstly, in the free consent of the people.

II. Because, by a free choice, the hearts of the people will be more inclined to the love of the persons chosen and more ready to yield obedience.

This discourse before the rulers of the infant colony, and his letter written about that time to Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts, admirably defining the doctrine that true liberty can exist only in obedience to law made by men chosen by all the people, leave no doubt that he was a prime mover in the political action of the colonists.

One of their earliest concerns was to lay down the frame of civil government. It is significant that it appears never to have entered their minds to ask assistance, or even permission, from the king and parliament of Great Britain. It was the ideal construction imagined by the visionaries. It was

the first example in history of a written constitution, organizing a government, dividing the legislative, executive, and judicial departments, and defining their powers. Premising that "where a people are gathered together, the law of God requires that, to maintain the peace and union of such a people, there should be an orderly and decent government established according to God, to order and dispose of the affairs of the people at all seasons as occasion shall require," they associated and conjoined themselves together, "as one public State or Commonwealth," to maintain and preserve the liberty and purity of the gospel . . . as also in civil affairs to be guided and governed according to such laws, rules, orders, and decrees as shall be made, ordered, and decreed." They provided for two general assemblies or courts each year; the first assembly to choose public officers, among them a governor for the year ensuing or until another be chosen, and with him six assistants, with power to administer justice according to the laws here established, and "in want thereof according to the rule of the Word of God;" said election to be made by all who are admitted freemen, and have taken the oath of fidelity and reside within the jurisdiction, "having been admitted inhabitants by the major part of the town" where they lived. All their elections were by ballot; no person could be governor more than once in two years. To said court of elections the inhabitants of the several towns came first themselves and afterwards sent their deputies, chosen by ballot in each town by a meeting which all the inhabitants thereof were warned to attend. Should the governor, or magistrates or assistants, fail to call the two general courts or assemblies of the year, and still after petition to so call them, the freemen of the towns had power to give order to their constables to warn the said meeting, at which the freemen might proceed to do any act of power which the General Court might do. The deputies, or members of the legislature, had power to appoint a time and place of meeting together in advance of any general court, to advise and consult regarding the good of the public, and "also to examine their own elections," and, in case of finding an election illegal, to exclude

the deputy, and return their reasons to the court, that it might fine the parties so intruding and the town also, if they saw cause, and issue a warrant for a new election. And the deputies or legislators had power to fine the disorderly or the absentees. A general court was to consist of the governor, four at least of the six magistrates, and a majority of the deputies chosen, "in which said general courts shall consist the supreme power of the Commonwealth, and they only shall have power to make laws or repeal them, to grant levies, to admit freemen," and also "power to call either a court or magistrate, or any other person whatsoever, for any misdemeanor;" and also "deal in any other matter that concerns the good of this Commonwealth, except the election of magistrates, which shall be done by the whole body of freemen." "None of these courts shall be adjourned or dissolved without the consent of the major part of the court." Further provisions of similar democratic character need not be recited. This constitution was adopted in January, 1639, and its traces can be found in all the constitutions of the Union. By the oath of office administered to the governor, which contained no reference to the king of Great Britain, he engaged to "maintain all lawful privileges of this Commonwealth," "to promote the public good and peace of the same," and also that "all wholesome laws that are or shall be made by lawful authority here established shall be duly executed," and bound him to "further the execution of justice according to God's word." The oaths of all officers were of the same general character.

When Charles II. came to the throne, fearful lest their freedom might attract hostile attention, the colony made a formal declaration of their allegiance to the crown and applied for a charter. The government of the colony of New Haven, originally purely that of the church, had gradually grown into close analogy to the system of Connecticut. Seeking the aid of all the promoters and friends of the colonies in Great Britain, the sagacious and diplomatic Winthrop obtained a charter combining both colonies under the name of "The Governor and Company of the English Colony

of Connecticut in New England," securing therein all the principles of their colonial constitution, and valuable privileges in addition. So smoothly and happily did this government proceed, so entirely could every emergency be met by statute under the loose and easy charter, that, as every one knows, it was not until 1818 that a formal modern constitution was adopted. Save the nomination of John Winthrop in the charter as governor for one year, and the temporary reign of Sir Edmund Andros for some eighteen months (submitted to by the leaders but never acknowledged by the people, while the charter was secretly cherished), for two hundred and forty-three years Connecticut has annually chosen its legislators and governors, appointed its own judges, enacted all its own laws, with no approval but that of its governor, levied its own taxes, organized its own troops, and commissioned its own military officers; in short, has been without break or change or civil disturbance of any kind, the steadiest, calmest, most peaceful and freest commonwealth on earth. No government whatever has known less of change during that period.

An exceedingly important factor in its character was that relation between church and state which is not adapted to the present day. Substantially all believers in one form of church government, if not precisely in one creed, the church was a part of the state. No ecclesiastics, as such, took part in the civil government, but every church organization was maintained by a tax upon the general list. The town was the unit of political organization; an absolute ideal democracy, in which all the male inhabitants of proper age assembled in person with the right to the final regulation of a considerable range of subjects, and, each town for itself, the right which no man has been able to shake from the first day to this, to send its deputies to the legislature. In the earlier days, while the town was the unit, and the church was nearly equivalent thereto, the military company well represented them both. The pastor was often first in his educational advantages, and not infrequently the leader of the town in all things. Inevitably, the General Assembly perfectly echoed the will of the

people, bringing it back to each town with the added sanction of all the towns. The church was the creator and pillar of the state, and, by the aid of the church, the will of the state became irresistible. Divide a commonwealth into fifty or one hundred towns thus organized and controlled, and what perfection of system and discipline is obtained!

Nor were these all the elements of strength. From the first day the education of all the people was accepted as a serious religious and political duty. Each town of fifty inhabitants or more was required to maintain a good school, and each county a good grammar school, under severe penalties for disobedience. The selectmen were required to see to it by personal inspection that no family neglected the secular and religious teaching of its children and servants.

With such a people, while the circumstances made military organization and discipline a necessity, they were also an easy task, if not a positive pleasure. The inhabitants of the colony and the state have never been a warlike people, for all their interests ran in the direction of peace, and the severities of nature compelled them to industry, but they have always been a military people. I have not read anywhere in history of a more prompt response to the call to arms, a more cheerful submission to all the pains and burdens of protracted war, than Connecticut has exhibited from the beginning to the end. I said her people were not warlike. Save when the dangerous Pequots required suppression they never have engaged in a war which their own conduct or desires had anything to do with provoking. Yet they have never shown an unwillingness to assume their share or more than their share of any duty.

In 1637 the little republic of three hundred souls, in mortal terror of the Pequots, sent ninety men under Captain John Mason to end their troubles, and the Pequot tribe was mortally wounded. I pass by the troubles with the Dutch whom the colonies of New Haven and Connecticut were at one time exceedingly anxious to fight, and note the bloody war of King Philip, where, from the first to last, the Connecticut troops, in their full share of numbers, were prompt, un-

tiring, and undaunted. Said the General Assembly, "in that signal service, the fort fight in the Narragansetts, as we had our full number, so all say they did their full proportion of service. . . . Our mourners over all the colony witness for our men that they were not unfaithful on that day." Of the two hundred lost, Connecticut furnished one hundred, and four of the five brave captains laid down their lives.

Who remembers that Connecticut and other New England soldiers laid their bones in Carthage and Cuba? In 1740, New England sent a thousand brave men with the British fleet to the Spanish West Indies. Of that one thousand not one hundred returned. Connecticut voted £45,000 for that war with Spain, while the colony contained scarce a hundred thousand inhabitants. France and England declared war in 1744, and without waiting for the mother country, New England devised the gloriously successful expedition against Louisburg, and, first and last, Connecticut contributed 2,000 men, including the crew of her smart little sloop-of-war. And like her New England sisters, she paid her own bills, while the English appropriated the prizes, worth a million sterling. For the next expedition to the St. Lawrence, out of 5,300 New Englanders, Connecticut furnished 1,000, paying a bounty of £30 each. An uneasy peace came in 1748.

In 1755, the long war with France having broken out, Connecticut raised 1,000 troops, and ended by giving 3,000. In 1756 she raised 2,500, or double the number asked for by General Abercrombie as her share, giving as a reason that some of the southern colonies might not furnish their proportion.

These troops were annually raised for the campaign of the season. In 1757 she sent out her quota of 1,400, and after the loss of Fort William Henry, moved by the general alarm and indignation, raised and sent into the field in a few days an additional 5,000. In 1758 the annual letter from William Pitt was answered by another 5,000, and in 1759, again the call for 5,000 came. Connecticut staggered for once. The Assembly voted 3,600, then made it 4,000, then added 1,000 more. This year came the reduction of Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Niagara, and Quebec. In 1760 came again the annual epistle from

Pitt, and indomitable Connecticut sent her 5,000 again. Then all Canada surrendered to Lord Amherst. Connecticut congratulated His Majesty, the King of Great Britain, and "thanked him for his paternal care of his colonies." In 1761, William Pitt, as usual, issued his epistle, but asked only for 3,300 men for important enterprises. Connecticut sent 2,300, who spent the season in building and repairing fortifications. In 1762, when the English resolved to strike a blow at the Spanish possessions in the West Indies, 500 men from New Jersey, 800 from New York, and 1,000 from Connecticut, the latter under Putnam, with General Lyman, of Connecticut, commanding the whole, joined the great fleet of 37 ships of war and 150 transports and landed near Havana. A few officers and soldiers, wasted to skeletons, history says, were the sole New England survivors of that campaign. Trumbull declares that but a mere handful returned to lay their bones on their native soil. In eight years, from 1755 to 1762, inclusive, Connecticut marched out 30,200 men in actual enlistments. The population of the colony is reported in 1756 at 131,805, in 1762 at 145,666. The careful and conscientious historian, Trumbull, estimates the cost to Connecticut during those eight years, after deducting the pittance received from Parliament, at £400,000. This takes no account of the heavy local and individual expenditures for substitutes and the support of families. These are amazing facts of record: that the colony taxed itself enormously during the whole war; that it discharged the whole debt in a few years; that it grew in population, and that an era of prosperity followed. The fire of the people was unquenchable. Says the historian truly: "The exploits of her gallant officers — her Lymans, her Whitings, her Parsons, her Dyers, her Spencers, her Hinmans, her Coits, her Fitches, her Durkees, her Woosters, her Putnams, and her Wolcotts — were as glorious as their fame will be immortal."

Forget not the brave, unrecorded dead who scattered their bones over a hundred fields between Quebec and Louisburg on the north, and Carthagen and Havana on the south. Forget not the equally brave women, who prayed and labored at home, but never said "stay" to the soldier.



Evidently these one hundred and twenty-five years in the wilderness had bred a people to be depended upon. To the superficial glance of the worldly-minded man of modern days, I presume there was little to appeal to the imagination in the home, in the culture, or the character of the New Englander of 1765. To him religion was a great, high, solemn, severe duty; the dread word "duty" dominated over all his activities. He wasted no time, he had no vain trifling or expensive amusements. He listened to long sermons with patience, if not always with pleasure. He made the laws himself, and he would permit no man to disobey them. He indulged in no fantastic dreams of chivalry. He was never embarrassed by a supposed necessity for fighting a duel. If you desired to wake the man to combat you must conjure with the word "duty," and the governor must issue his proclamation. But there was a mental and moral fibre in these men of New England that made them the founders of empire, and the strain of their blood is apparent to-day along the parallels of latitude from Maine to the Pacific.

They were being educated for a struggle of which few could have dreamed in 1762. They indulged in a stately and honorable loyalty, because God said "Honor the king," and they feared the Spaniard and the Frenchman. But there were many things that caused them to pause and think. The farmers of Lebanon and Pomfret who accepted whatever the General Assembly said, because they had made the General Assembly, must have begun to wonder whether it would not be well that a small people who mustered 30,000 in eight years and worked £400,000 out of their rocky lands, ought not to have something to say about how these wars came to pass. Yet they had never paid a tax that was not levied by their own General Assembly, nor had a king or a king's colonel ever issued a command directly to their regiments.

The time for their great trial rapidly approached. The stubborn king and foolish ministry knew not what manner of men had grown from the transplanted English stock. A new era dawned upon the world at Lexington, where

. . . the embattled farmers stood,  
And fired the shot heard round the world.

At the word, about seventy-five companies and squads started for Boston, representing fifty towns from Greenwich to Woodstock and Pomfret, and numbering near 3,000. In the roll of officers I see were names that became illustrious in the Revolution and at a later day. Israel Putnam reported promptly to Brother Jonathan, and departed with his sanction to immortalize himself at Bunker Hill; Putnam "who dared to lead where any dared to follow," hero and patriot, "whose generosity was singular, whose honesty was proverbial," and who "raised himself to universal esteem." There was Captain Return J. Meigs, great-uncle of the quartermaster general. There was Lyon of Woodstock, Sedgwick of Hartford, Chester of Wethersfield, Nathaniel Terry of Enfield, Thomas Knowlton of Ashford, Jedediah Huntington of Norwich, Samuel H. Parsons of Preston, Benedict Arnold, then among the bravest apostles. There was Captain Samuel McLellan, great-grandfather of the first commander of the army of the Potomac, and Captain Matthew Grant, of East Windsor, ancestor of the hero of Appomattox.

Upon the instant Connecticut accepted her part in the drama. She was prepared. Her people, accustomed to reading and study, and to hearing all the great problems of life discussed from the weekly pulpit, had annually elected legislatures capable of leading them to a right judgment. They had sent to the British ministry their vigorous protest against taxation without representation, which was accepted as a courteous and logical document. They had kept equal step with their sister colonies in defence of their inherited and chartered rights. They proceeded with profound and serious deliberation. It is related upon the authority of the late Dr. Chauncey Goodrich, who obtained it long after the event from Dr. Nathan Strong, chaplain of the General Assembly, that in a private session, whose proceedings were never recorded nor disclosed in their day, six men on a side were appointed to argue the questions at issue between the mother country and her colonies. When such people moved it was with an unfaltering step.

I pause to look upon a figure of the first prominence in the

Revolutionary history of our State. Jonathan Trumbull was a type of a class of the highest products of New England civilization. The opening of the Revolution found him at sixty-four years of age, for six years previously the governor of the colony, — a scholar, a gentleman, and a patriot. He graduated at Harvard in 1727, studied theology, and took the place of a brother lost at sea, in his father's mercantile business. From 1733 to 1739 he was a member of the Assembly, and finally its speaker. He was chosen an assistant in 1740, and was reelected twenty-two times. He became judge of the county court, and assistant judge of the superior court, of which he was chief judge from 1766 to 1769. In 1767 and 1768 he was lieutenant-governor. In 1769 he became governor and held the office fourteen years, until 1783. He was among the earliest of the Revolutionists; in 1765 he refused to take the oath to support the Stamp Act. For fifty years he served the Commonwealth. He possessed in harmonious balance all the qualities of a noble mind and soul, carrying the unmistakable stamp of New England. He never faltered, he never doubted, he never lacked the words of encouragement, of argument, of irreversible determination. He was a character created by a hundred and fifty years of New England life. He was the people's governor — the solitary governor of the thirteen colonies who embodied revolutionary principles, and led through the struggle the people he had prepared for the emergency. To him General Washington turned in every painful emergency. He made every exertion within human power to arm and forward troops, and supply food to a sometimes starving army. He became the "Brother Jonathan" of history, whom Connecticut will ever delight to honor.

Connecticut had few changes to make. At a special session of the General Assembly called on the 14th day of June, 1775, it was resolved unanimously, —

"That the delegates of this Colony in General Congress be, and they are hereby, instructed to propose to that respectable body, to declare the United American Colonies free and independent States, absolved from all allegiance to the King of

Great Britain, and to give the assent of this Colony to such declaration, when they shall judge it expedient and best ; . . . and also that they move and promote, as fast as may be convenient, a regular and permanent plan of union and confederation of the Colonies for the security and preservation of their just rights and liberties, and for mutual defence and security."

The unanimous declaration, it is observed, and to the end of the controversy, neither the Assembly nor the State turned to right or left, or doubted or faltered. It imposed extraordinary taxes, its private contributions were lavish, and it sent to the war 32,000 men, being a larger proportion than the number sent by any other State. Such was the general excellence of its civil and military organization that its power responded with remarkable celerity at the word of command. While always answering with all possible promptness to the calls of the Continental Congress and General Washington, it was under the necessity, during the whole war, of keeping constant watch of its exposed coast. A petty and tormenting border warfare was carried on between our coast towns on the one hand, and the torries of Long Island and plundering detachments from the British armies and fleets on the other. Guard-boats patrolled the shore, beacon-fires and signal-guns were always in readiness ; and in every town within a day's march of the coast, military companies were ready to march at the tap of the drum to the water-side. The war vessels of the British, sometimes singly, sometimes in great fleets, sailed up and down the Sound between Newport and New York, or anchored idly in Gardner's Bay, by Fisher's Island, or off our seaports, always keeping a wide region in a torture of expectancy. It is worthy of note that no considerable engagement ever took place in New England during that war out of hearing and easy reach of the coast, save in Vermont. Experience soon taught the British that whatever was to be done in Connecticut, by anything less than their full force, was to be done quickly and near the shore.

Two thousand British troops under Tryon, colonial gov

ernor of our sister State, New York, April 25, 1777, made a famous plundering and burning raid through Bethel, Ridgefield, and Danbury, their greatest achievement being the slaughter of the noble patriot, General Wooster. In 1778, they burned the town of Fair Haven. July 5, 1779, sailing with a formidable land and naval force of 5,000 men, they landed 3,000 at East Haven and West Haven, and after burning and plundering as usual in New Haven, they hurried in alarm to their vessels with a loss of eighty men, inflicted by scattered militiamen and citizens. On the 8th of the same month, they landed at Fairfield, burning one hundred and sixty-two buildings there, and thirty at Green's Farms. Three days after, they burned the entire village of Norwalk, but hurried to their vessels with a loss of one hundred and forty-eight men, pursued by Generals Parsons and Wolcott with an inferior force, nearly all militiamen. In these and scores of minor affairs they learned that the people of the State rallied like the inhabitants of a hornet's nest.

Among the places which the British regarded with special enmity was this fair town of New London. The people of the region were intensely patriotic. Large masses of supplies, foreign and domestic, were frequently gathered here; and its noble harbor, able to supply anchorage and refuge for the largest vessels, within an hour's sail of the great ocean, was the favorite resting-place of privateers, who scoured the ocean with matchless audacity and bravery, and often with great success.

In Green's Gazette of June 3, 1779, were advertisements for sale at auction of eight prizes, aggregating eighty guns. In six weeks that spring, nine New York tory privateers were captured and brought into New London. In the Court of Admiralty held in New London, June 10th, eighteen prizes were libelled, all taken in the month of May. Among the well-known vessels, privateers, or commissioned in the state or continental navy, which were built in New London, or made it recruiting ground, were the *Spy*, the *Defence*, 14 guns, the *Old Defence*, the *Oliver Cromwell*, 20 guns, the *Resistance*, 10 guns, the *Governor Trumbull*, 20 guns, built at

Norwich; the Middletown, Beaver, Eagle, the Confederacy, 32 guns, built on the Thames; the Putnam, 20 guns, built at New London; and the frigate Trumbull, 28 guns, built at Chatham. It is passing strange that New London was not struck earlier and often. It was within easy reach of New York. It would have served as an excellent rendezvous for an invasion of New England, and at nearly all times it was a mine for rich plunder. In the autumn of 1781 it contained a great accumulation of captured stores of all descriptions.

The history of the fortifications of New London harbor would make an interesting chapter. William Ledyard was made the captain of Fort Griswold, July 3, 1776, and Captain Adam Shapley captain of the old fort at New London. Later Colonel Ledyard was placed in command of the post or district embracing both sides of the river. His account for rebuilding Fort Griswold in 1777, and Fort Trumbull in the following year, and directing the works on Town Hill in 1779, was ordered paid by the General Assembly in December, 1780. Fort Trumbull, at the time of the battle, was merely a strong breastwork of three sides, open in the rear, mounting twelve 18 pounders and three 6 pounders, but Captain Shapley's garrison numbered only twenty-three. The fort on the summit of Town Hill, known to the Americans as Fort Nonsense, mounted six guns. Fort Griswold, where we stand, occupying a most noble and commanding position, was a much more formidable work. Though it has been repaired and somewhat changed, its general character can well be judged from what you see of it to-day. Stephen Hempstead's narrative furnishes the only description on record of the fort as it stood on the day of the battle.

"The fort was an oblong square, with bastions at opposite angles, its longest side fronting the river in a northwest and southeast direction. Its walls were of stone, and were ten or twelve feet high on the lower side, and surrounded by a ditch. On the wall were pickets, projecting over twelve feet; above this was a parapet with embrasures, and within a platform for cannon, and a step to mount upon, to shoot over the parapet with small arms. In the southwest bastion was a flag-staff,

and in the side, near the opposite angle, was the gate, in front of which was a triangular breastwork to protect the gate; and to the right of this was a redoubt, with a 3 pounder in it, which was about one hundred and twenty yards from the gate. Between the fort and the river was another battery, with a covered way, but which could not be used in this attack, as the enemy appeared in a different quarter."

Its armament consisted of one 18 pounder, seventeen 12 pounders, two 9 pounders, seven 6 pounders, and six 4 pounders; a total of 33 guns. One of the 6 pounders was mounted in the redan covering the gateway. One of the 3 pounders was in the little redoubt one hundred and twenty yards from the gate. How many pieces were in the battery down the hill to the westward does not appear, nor indeed is it material, for there were but 155 men, according to the report of Orderly Sergeant Avery, in the works when the fight opened, and the large majority of these were not of the regular garrison, but militiamen, continental soldiers and citizens of all ranks and ages, and little training as artillerists. Colonel Ledyard wrote to Governor Trumbull, December 1, 1778: "I find, the more I am acquainted with the duty belonging to a fortification, the more I see the necessity of having proper soldiers to garrison them." And again: "I beg your excellency will forgive me when I give it as my opinion that fortifications are of but very little consequence if they are to be defended only by inexperienced troops."

Let me briefly sketch the general relations of the British and American forces during the summer of 1781. In May, Cornwallis came up from his disastrous campaign in North Carolina and joined the forces under the traitor Arnold, who had just succeeded to the command. The latter was soon recalled by Clinton. Lafayette had been sent down with 1,200 men to defeat Arnold, and, if possible, catch and hang him. The Marquis was joined by Steuben and Wayne, and with some militia had about 4,000 troops. About the 1st of August Cornwallis went to Yorktown, intending to establish there a permanent post. So confident was he that he could hold his position against Lafayette that he wrote, August

22d, to Sir Henry Clinton at New York, offering to send him 1,000 or 1,200 men to assist in defending that city against the expected attack by the combined American and French forces under Washington and Rochambeau. Let us see what were Washington's plans.

In May, ignorant that Cornwallis had come up to Virginia, but having heard to his great joy that the Count De Grasse had sailed from France for the West Indies, and would bring twelve ships to Newport, Washington met Rochambeau for conference at Wethersfield, May 22, hospitable entertainment during the journey being provided by the General Assembly, and as the British controlled the sea and a march by land to the Carolinas would be impracticable, they decided to strike at New York. The French were ordered to march from Newport to the Hudson as soon as possible, and the Count De Grasse would coöperate upon their arrival. The reconnoissances of Washington were so vigorous that Clinton wrote July 26th to Cornwallis ordering three regiments to New York. But early in August Washington received the delightful news that the Count De Grasse would leave St. Domingo August 3d, with twenty-five or thirty ships of the line and a considerable body of land forces, and steer immediately for the Chesapeake. August 15th, Washington wrote Lafayette to take all possible pains to keep Cornwallis from retreating to North Carolina. A fortnight before, Cornwallis had assisted in this by changing post from Portsmouth to Yorktown, so that the Count De Grasse could patrol the York and James rivers, and Lafayette could watch him on the landward side. "You shall hear further from me," said Washington. His whole plan was changed. He would take Rochambeau and all the American troops that could be spared, keep Clinton alarmed for the safety of New York, get a good start secretly for Virginia and crush Cornwallis. He did it. He appeared to concentrate his forces up the Hudson, but August 25th they moved rapidly into the Jerseys. They reached the Delaware before Clinton guessed their true destination. September 2d they entered Philadelphia. It seems to be agreed that Clinton concluded, about Septem-



ber 1st, that Washington was on his way to Virginia. Now Clinton's narrative says :—

“Early in September, to my great surprise (for I still considered our fleet as superior), hearing that Mr. Washington was marching southward, I called a council of all the general officers, who unanimously concurred with me in opinion that the only way to succor Earl Cornwallis was to go to him in the Chesapeake.”

See how the game closed upon the British. August 28th, several days before this council, the Count de Grasse had entered the Chesapeake and begun to land 3,000 troops.

Did Clinton send to New London with a view to checking Washington's march to Virginia? That is the common view, but I seriously doubt it. I think he reports that on the 2d he was not certain of the change in Washington's plans. On the 6th he wrote that it was no longer a secret, and that he was embarking 4,000 troops for Cornwallis. It must have taken two or three days to prepare the New London expedition. The fleet was seen off Stamford on the 4th. I think that Clinton had ordered the movement while he supposed Washington and Rochambeau, who were rapidly moving southward from the Hudson, were meditating some operation against Staten Island and New York. He perhaps thought he would at least check the despatch of the reinforcements from Connecticut and New England generally. He could hardly have expected to even delay Washington, if he had believed the latter to be on his way to Virginia.

The tory Judge, Jones (vol. ii. p. 208), says :—

“This plundering expedition (Arnold's) was a project of Smith's, if the letters from New York are to be depended upon. ‘It was,’ says one of them, ‘planned, and the execution of it warmly solicited by Mr. Smith, the chief justice of New York, who has gained great credit by its success, and is a convincing proof of his loyalty and attachment to his sovereign, though an American.’”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For this view of the motive of the New London expedition, I am largely indebted to Prof. Henry P. Johnston, of the College of the City of New York.—J. R. H.

It is most probable that the motives were several. Arnold had been sent to Virginia, where he burned a large part of Richmond, and displayed his usual vigor. He was recalled about June first, and it is known that he desired to command a movement up the river to take West Point. The concentration of our armies on the Hudson prevented that. It had been the intention of Tryon's expedition in 1779, against New Haven, Fairfield, and Norwalk, to embrace New London also, but Wayne's splendid capture of Stony Point made the diversion change sides. Now in August, 1781, Arnold was idle and impatient. The tories hated New London. Clinton rightly regarded it as a dangerous place. It contained at that moment a great store of supplies. The merchant ship *Hannah* had just been brought in there, a prize worth \$400,000, and undoubtedly to the great damage of many New York city tories. Doubtless all these considerations combined, and Arnold was at hand, a fit instrument for a work of malignant destruction never sought by true soldiers save under imperative necessity.

The reflection of a hundred years has confirmed all the severity of the condemnation of his time. He was a brave and brilliant soldier. On Lake Champlain, at Quebec (severely wounded), at Bemis Heights (wounded), and elsewhere, he displayed great skill and most impetuous daring. He lacked the highest qualities of the true soldier, for the trials of war are not always before the cannon's mouth. The rivalries, the not infrequent injustice, the harsh changes that cannot regard one man's sensibilities, the unwisdom of the civil power, sometimes the gross blunders or wicked malice of superiors, — these prove the metal of the patriot. Vindictive, supremely selfish, recklessly and dishonestly extravagant in his expenses and speculations, reprimanded when he might have been cashiered for the improper conversion of captured property, he attempted the murder of the infant Republic, and became the most shameless traitor since Judas. It was a sort of poetic retribution that sent him to the infinitely humiliating work of harrying the coast of his State, among his old friends and neighbors, — Norwich, his birthplace, within

hearing of his guns, within sight of the smoke of his unholy fires. His boasted success must have added to his remorseful memories. He professed to regret the unnecessary destruction of property and the unexpected loss of life. He lied when he said his troops found eighty dead bodies in Fort Griswold, for he lacked courage to tell the truth. Lafayette in Virginia refused to receive an official communication from him. Washington sought opportunities to catch him for the gallows, and instructed Lafayette to let nothing stand in the way of summary punishment if Arnold should be captured in Virginia. Clinton and Cornwallis despised him. After Arnold's crossing to Great Britain, Sherburne, secretary of state for the colonies, refused to let him return to service here. And hereabouts in many burial grounds memorial stones record, "Slain by Traitor Arnold's murdering corps."

The hostile fleet of thirty-two transports and vessels of war appeared in the Sound September 4th, Captain Beazley, in the *Amphion*, commanding the naval forces, and Arnold the troops. At two p. m. on the 5th, it came to anchor thirty miles from New London, across the Sound and under the Long Island shore, waiting for the darkness. At seven p. m. the fleet weighed anchor, expecting to make New London in time to land at or before daylight. But the winds that in peaceful summer and autumn days usually blow daily from the south and west from noon to three o'clock in the morning, when after a short rest they come from the north or west, this night of September 5th graciously failed in the south, and began from the north two hours earlier than their wont, so that the fleet by beating was only able to land the forces about nine o'clock, or, according to Arnold's report, about ten o'clock. They were observed at three o'clock; Sergeant Avery, at Fort Griswold, reports he called William Latham, captain of the fort, who sent word to Colonel Ledyard, commander of the district, who ordered two guns fired, the signal of alarm. Tradition says that the British immediately added a third, and the country around supposed only that some successful and proud privateer had come in. Ledyard sent swift expresses to the neighboring towns, and a horseman galloped away to tell Brother Jonathan. Some

towns went leisurely on with their work. They had heard the story for six years and were altogether incredulous. Some men came late and stayed out of a hopeless fight, entreating Ledyard to make it a stone wall and hedge fight, after the manner of Lexington, Concord, Danbury, Norwalk, and New Haven. Many of the bravest and most experienced were away with Washington or Lafayette, or up the Hudson with Heath. Others were on the vessels in the river or the wild privateers at sea. But a braver body of old men and boys never assembled at random. As Ledyard, forty-three years of age, steady and true patriot, gallant gentleman and true soldier, as his seventy-five letters to Governor Trumbull, his long service and his glorious work this day showed, stepped into the boat to cross from New London, after giving all possible instructions, he said to his friends: "If I must to-day lose honor or life, you who know me well can tell which it will be." He was placed there to command and defend. He could understand nothing else. He knew well how little his straggling troops knew of artillery. He had reported all his needs many a time. The present duty was comparatively simple. He took his post, greeted his old friends and neighbors, among them twenty of his own kinsmen, loaded his guns and waited.

Now let us stand with him and look about us. It was a warm, sunny September day. The gentle wind was dying to a calm soon to change and let some of our vessels run up the river. At such a moment, just as the satanic thundering and screeching of great guns, and the positive relief of the wild hurrah and charge are expected every moment, many of my hearers know how strange it seems that the sun will shine so charmingly, the soft winds kiss the cheek so gently, the birds and insects twitter and hum so unconcernedly, that all nature seems cruelly careless about this terrible business.

Behind us, over the walls, one sometimes catches a glimpse of a peering face, or from a window in the straggling village some dear woman takes the handkerchief from her eyes long enough to wave it towards one whose answering salute she hopes to catch.

At the mouth of the river the fleet gathered in two divisions, the fighting ships in front. Arnold landed near the light-house, about three miles below the city. He led the 40th regiment, Sir Robert Pigot's, the loyal Americans, commanded by the tory, Colonel Beverly Robinson, the American legion of refugees, — a band of 120 Jersey tories under Lieutenant Colonel Upham, — and a detachment of sixty Yagers, or Hessian light infantry, the whole numbering some eight or nine hundred men. He marched rapidly up the Town Hill road. Arriving at the cross road leading down to the shore, Arnold detached Captain Millet of the 38th, with four companies, who were joined by Captain Frink and a company of refugees coming up nearer the shore. Brave Shapley with his twenty-three men fired one volley, spiked the guns, and, obeying Ledyard's orders, took boats for the Groton side. The enemy reached them with muskets, wounded seven men, and captured one boat. Shapley found a soldier's death on the hill.

Arnold pushed on to Fort Folly, which he entered against a scattering fire from citizen skirmishers. He detached Lieutenant Colonel Upham to hold "the hill north of the meeting-house," and here is the first record of a voice from Fort Griswold. Ledyard gave the word, and an eighteen pound shot struck up the dust on Town Hill. Upham says he was exposed to a constant fire until the fort was taken.

All the long and dreadful morning the watchers at Fort Griswold could see the terrified women and children streaming northward from the town, carrying their household goods and gods as best they might to the fields and farm-houses of the country.

Look to the east, or Groton side of the river's mouth. Commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Eyre of the 54th, there landed the 54th regiment, the 40th, Major Montgomery, the 3d battalion of New Jersey volunteers, Lieutenant Colonel Buskirk commanding, with a detachment of Yagers and artillery. The work was done by the two British regiments. Buskirk's command of tories, Hessians, and artillery, with their howitzer, being retarded by copses, ledges, and ravines, or cowardice,

until the fort was taken. This division numbered about eight hundred.

As he passed Fort Trumbull, Arnold sent a staff officer across to hurry Colonel Eyre. He saw, as he reports, that the Americans were taking advantage of the southerly breeze and taking all their vessels, that had sails bent, up the river out of reach, though he turned the guns of Fort Trumbull upon them. We have the day's work well begun. Fort Trumbull was turning its battery up the river, and also essaying in vain to reach Fort Griswold. Ledyard was easily and rapidly throwing shot into Fort Trumbull and upon Town Hill. Arnold had reached the hill and turned a six pounder upon the escaping vessels. Seeing that he was losing the vessels, and observing by the aid of his glass and the shot that came his way that Fort Griswold was "much more formidable" than he expected, from the information he had received, he sent another officer to countermand the order to assault, but it was too late. Colonel Eyre had summoned the fort to surrender.

Arnold hastened to his work of destruction. His troops entered the town from the north and south end. There was a pretence of burning only stores and public property, but it was a farce. Ten or twelve ships, lumber, wharves, rigging, barns, warehouses, jail, court-house, and church were in flames, and a drunken soldiery revelled in rum and plunder, while Arnold sat upon his horse near the meeting-house on the hill and watched the fierce fight on Groton Hill. One hundred and forty-three buildings were consumed. Five of the enemy were killed and twenty wounded by the militiamen and volunteers fighting at random, and for their lack of organization several officers were justly cashiered afterward. Four Americans were killed and twelve wounded, none mortally. Arnold's personal share of the work was done, and it remained for him but to marshal his troops to their boats and take a last look at his native county.

The fire of the fort upon the advancing enemy far down the hill had been unavailing, owing to the irregularities of the ground. Colonel Eyre brought his men to a forest half a

mile distant, whence they ran forward in broken ranks to the shelter of the rocky height 130 yards from the fort, near the present burial-ground. Major Montgomery took similar shelter a short distance northeast of Eyre. About noon Eyre sent a flag demanding an unconditional surrender. Ledyard's officers all sustained him in answering no. Captains Elijah Avery, Amos Stanton, and John Williams carried the answer which was their own death-warrant. A second summons added that if the British were obliged to storm the works they should put martial law in full force. Captain Shapley carried the reply, "We shall not give up the fort to them be the consequences what they may." The magnificent obstinacy of these men is amazing. True, they believed in their countrymen and knew that a few hours might bring overwhelming forces to their support. But the assault was imminent in five minutes. The speculator in the game of war, the theorist, might have told them that against 600 veteran soldiers, on such ground of advantageous approach, their cause was hopeless. I am aware that veteran troops know when to run and rally and when to surrender. But these consecrated men were set apart for a noble purpose. They might have run away at sight of the enemy's numbers or have surrendered at the summons, and the world could scarcely have blamed them. But had they done so there would have been no monument here. To die, then and there, as they did, was to sound a trumpet to all America, and write a lesson for the centuries.

Colonel Eyre put both regiments in motion, advancing in solid column, Sergeant Avery says. There was a moment of suspense. When they reached open, level ground, Ledyard gave the word and an eighteen pounder, double shotted with grape, cleared a wide space. The British broke into a scattered skirmishing order, and advanced at the double quick, bearing away to the southern and western sides of the fort. Every man of the desperate little garrison worked at will and with a will. The British were tried veterans. Colonel Eyre fell seriously wounded. Major Montgomery took the 40th around to the north until they came eastward of the redoubt

east of the fort, and entered it from the further side. Thence they emerged, charging upon the fort, but scattering along the east and north fronts. Fort Griswold was surrounded by near 600 old soldiers, watching every head that rose above the parapet to load a gun or fire a musket. Major Montgomery valiantly led his men to the ditch, and was entering the work when he fell dead, thrust through with a spear. The fight aged furiously. Said Lieutenant Avery to his son of seventeen years, "Tom, my son, do your duty." "Never fear, father," said the boy, and fell. "'T is a good cause," said the father, as he proceeded with his duty. Montgomery's men rushed to avenge him. A soldier broke open the gate and was shot dead. On every side, four or five to one, the enemy were breaking the pickets down, shooting the defenders, clambering up the wall. There was no time to load, and our men dashed down solid shot upon their heads. The flag had been shot down and the enemy cheered it as a surrender. It was raised again. They swarmed into the northeast bastion. They broke down the gate. The day was lost. Colonel Ledyard ordered his men to throw down their arms and shouted a surrender. The enemy continued to fire from the parapet upon all, armed or unarmed, well or wounded, and advanced toward the southwest bastion, where for a few moments Shapley and his friends were ignorant of the surrender. They were torn by a discharge from one of our cannon; they were beaten down; they surrendered. Eyre's men came swarming in over the southwest bastion. As Montgomery's 40th came in on the north, Colonel Ledyard advanced to meet Major Bromfield who now led them. "Who commands this fort?" "I did, but you do now," said Ledyard, extending his sword. In a moment Ledyard lay dead, thrust through and through. See his vestments and the cruel rent therein, here to witness to this day! From that moment a new horror came down on the field, a black cloud of awful shame and crime. Honorable warfare fled and hell reigned. Sergeant Avery was three times wounded with a bayonet. Captain William Seymour, a volunteer from Hartford, nephew of Ledyard, bearing a shattered knee, received thirteen bay-



onnet wounds. Insane men fired into the wounded sheltered in the magazine. Bromfield cried, "Stop, or you'll send us all to hell." Ensign Woodmaney was gashed with a cutlass as he lay wounded on the ground partly sheltered by a platform. Lieutenant Parke Avery lost an eye, had some of his brains torn out, and was bayoneted as he lay bleeding. A British officer ran from side to side crying, "Stop, stop, in the name of Heaven, stop. My soul can't bear it."

The slaughter ceased. Not more than thirty of the garrison were hurt before the enemy reached the crest of the parapet. Eighty-five of the garrison were now dead. They and the wounded were alike stripped until they were nearly naked. Thirty-five, more or less dangerously wounded, were paroled. The remaining thirty-five, mostly wounded, were carried away as prisoners. The killed and wounded must have been 140 of the 155. But the loss was not upon one side. The brave patriots inflicted heavy losses before the fort was entered, and when hope vanished many of them renewed the fight with a wild and desperate valor. Arnold officially reported 196 killed and wounded. If twenty-five of these suffered in his division, the British loss in Groton must have been 170, that is thirty more than the American loss and fifteen more than the total of our garrison. The enemy burned nineteen buildings at Groton in the afternoon. They shamefully treated, grossly neglected, or most rudely handled our wounded. I spare you the authentic recorded details of the barbarities that followed the cessation of actual slaughter. Your laborious and conscientious historians, Miss Caulkins and William W. Harris, have left nothing to be gleaned locally and but little from any source.

I leave open the question who killed Ledyard, though I think the foul crime is chargeable to Bromfield. I care little to discuss it. Some of the British officers knew the guilty man. They did not punish him even by the shame of publicity. Let them then share the dishonor.

The two great nations are friends. Their common language, laws, history, religion, and civilization compel them to march abreast in the world's work. The common fame and

power of the English-speaking people grows and spreads a wider sway from year to year. Ebenezer Ledyard, brother of the immortal colonel, was taken prisoner, as a hostage, to New York. He fell under the care, finally, of Sir Guy Carleton, successor of Sir Henry Clinton. To a son, born six years after, he gave the name Guy Carleton. If a Ledyard could thus grasp hands, we all can meet with the "courtesy that befits ancient foes turned friends."

No : we come here with no mouldy griefs nor revenges. We are here to worship courage, honor freedom ; to salute the names of the glorious dead of our State and blood and faith, who set this example before the generations of fresh, opened-eyed lads, who are to have the defence of a land of immeasurable greatness.

See the illustrious roll. Fourteen of the dead and three of the wounded bore the title of captain. Eleven bore the name of Avery, six the name of Perkins. Daniel Williams, of Saybrook, died there at the age of fifteen ; Thomas Avery at sixteen ; Belton Allyn at seventeen ; Thomas Starr, Jr., at eighteen ; E. Perkins at sixty-four ; Thomas Williams at sixty ; and James Comstock at seventy-five. It is averred that sixty of the dead and wounded were members of the Congregational churches of Groton and New London.

I congratulate you of these beautiful and now peaceful towns upon your remembrance of this day. I congratulate many of you upon the names you bear and the ancestry of whom you are proud. We join in reverential salute to the dead, in the New England spirit that placed upon yonder column "Zebulon and Naphtali were a people that jeopardized their lives unto the death in the high places of the field."

After the singing of "America," General W. T. Sherman rose in response to a unanimous call, the whole audience rising to cheer him as he stepped to the front.

He asked to be excused from attempting a speech, as he came to enjoy the occasion ; but "as I do not see any reporters about I will say a few words."

Alluding to the orator's claiming him as almost a Connect-

icut man he acknowledged he might have been a citizen of old Connecticut but for General Tryon and the British army, who in their raid on Norwalk burned the property of General Sherman's grandfather at Norwalk, for which, in the settlement succeeding the war, he was given with others a tract of land, a part of that which Connecticut claimed in the Western Reserve, which he visited in 1803, and led to his father's emigration in 1809. Thus it was that the Shermans were transplanted to Ohio. There they had to subdue nature and the Indians, as they had in Connecticut when she had exterminated the Pequots and appropriated their lands, and made no bones of it, in which she was right. The Pequots did not deserve it; a few hundreds were occupying the land now filled with thousands of prosperous farms, and hundreds of cities, towns, and villages with their increased population of better people. The Indian must make room for the white man, move away ahead of him, or learn his ways and settle down beside him, else a war of extermination must follow. Ohio was the hunting-ground of similar savages, and he wished some reverend gentlemen would tell him whether it was better that it should have been left to such purposes rather than be made the home of 3,000,000 people as good as those in Connecticut. This mock philanthropy that would let Indians destroy our white settlers and spare them from the sword when they are murdering our race, I do not believe in.

He recalled the treacherous murder of General Canby by the Modocs, and said that Canby was the equal in patriotism and soldierly qualities of Ledyard, whose massacre this day commemorates. Then came the massacre of Custer and his troops, not a soul left to tell the tale, yet his men were as brave as the defenders of Fort Griswold; and lastly, the recent attack on General Carr and his men. They should not be petted, but punished for their murders of our soldiers. Finally, the people of Connecticut should remember above all things when you criticise sharply and flippantly the Indian policy of the nation, and condemn the army, that it was you who first set the example for the Indian policy now pursued, when you drove out the Pequots from these very lands almost

250 years ago. General Hawley has justly praised Connecticut so highly to-day that I venture one word of caution. Let us *never* forget that we are not only States but one Nation, and let our chief pride be of our whole country rather than of our native State!!!

In response to the popular summons, Hon. John T. Wait, M. C., spoke as follows : —

*Mr. Chairman and Fellow-Citizens :* The ground on which we stand is sacred. A hundred years ago it was reddened with the blood of as brave a body of noble men as ever gave their lives in defence of their firesides and their native land. In the early years of the century that is now concluded, it has again and again been hallowed by the tears of the widows and orphans of the illustrious dead, whose patriotism and valor we have this day assembled to honor.

The tens of thousands of the people of this land, who have gathered here to-day, emphatically declare by their presence that the memory of the men, who took part in the bloody contest on these Heights a hundred years ago, will ever be cherished.

It was not solely in this one fierce conflict on Groton Heights that the people of Connecticut showed their patriotism, and their fixed determination to continue the struggle until this and the other colonies were free and independent of the British crown. As early as June, 1776 the General Assembly of this Colony pronounced for independence, and instructed the delegates in Congress from Connecticut to urge that body to declare that the American Colonies were absolved from all allegiance to the king of Great Britain.

As soon as the tidings of the engagement at Lexington reached Governor Trumbull, he pushed on troops under the command of the brave old Israel Putnam, to aid in the relief of Boston, until more than three thousand Connecticut soldiers, armed, officered, and drilled, stood shoulder to shoulder with the men of Massachusetts on Bunker Hill.

When the city of New York was threatened by the British troops and fleet, Governor Trumbull again called upon the pa-

triotic sons of Connecticut to rally under the colonial banner, and march to join the army that was stationed near that city. The flower of our youth nobly responded to the call, and nine regiments were at once organized and led to the defence of the sister colony. Up to that time Connecticut could boast that she had furnished and kept in the field full one half the army commanded by Washington.

Well may the people of Connecticut be proud of the part which our gallant little State took in the War of the Revolution. Her history during that protracted and terrible struggle is a history of patriotic and brilliant incidents and heroic achievements. At no time during that war could this Colony number over forty thousand fighting men ; but she mustered, equipped, and put in the ranks of the continental army, in the seven years' struggle, nearly thirty-two thousand efficient soldiers. Massachusetts alone, of all the colonies, sent more troops into the field.

Then Connecticut, at the opening of the Revolutionary struggle, occupied a conspicuous position in the line of sister colonies, for only she enjoyed the advantage of having a chief magistrate who did not hold his place by direct appointment of the British king. Upon the admirable judgment, reliable counsel, unswerving patriotism, and efficient assistance of Brother Jonathan of Connecticut, did Washington and Congress rely in every embarrassing emergency.

But I will not trespass upon your time in further alluding to those important and interesting events connected with the Revolutionary struggle. They have already been admirably described in eloquent language by the distinguished speaker who has preceded me, and by the eminent statesman who addressed you one year ago.

The valor, the patriotism, and the heroic deeds of the men, who, under the lead of the martyr Ledyard, fell on this ground a hundred years ago in defence of their families and their liberties, are uppermost in every mind to-day. The circling years of the past century bring with them, for these men, no cessation of our gratitude and our love. On these Heights, made sacred by the blood of those who suffered martyrdom.

in order that their children's children, in one unending line, might enjoy the blessings of liberty and the right of self-government, the sons and daughters of these patriot dead have gathered to commemorate the glorious self-sacrifice that here was offered up ; to show their respect and affection for the memory and valor of their fathers ; and to pledge themselves anew to the preservation of those principles and institutions for the sake of which these lives were freely given. On the very ground where we now stand were shown that chivalrous courage and heroic spirit which have made the ruins of old Fort Griswold a sacred shrine, and the record of which has been written in characters of living light upon the pages of history.

As your representative, it became my duty — as it was my pleasure and a work of love — to introduce in the last Congress a bill making an appropriation to aid you in the present celebration, and for the repair of the Monument that marks the spot whereon was shown the dauntless bravery and unyielding heroism of that devoted band of Connecticut patriots, who perished here for liberty and human rights. My appeals to the committee and members of Congress, effectively sustained, as they were, by the intelligent presentation of their claims for aid made by citizens of Groton and New London, were favorably received. The committee to which the bill was referred reported in favor of its passage ; it passed the House and Senate by the unanimous action of those bodies, and received at once the approval of the President.

I fully believe that celebrations like this are of infinite importance to the State. They bring vividly before the minds of all the remembrance of those sacrifices and sufferings by which alone the independence of this great nation was secured. They kindle anew in every heart the flames of patriotic devotion, and strengthen those impulses and emotions that, in times of danger to the Commonwealth, are its bulwarks and defences. The patriotism of the Revolutionary days still lives upon this soil. The sons of the men who here poured out their life-blood and made this spot immortal are worthy of their ancestry. "The fathers need not blush to

own their sons to-day," for the names that shine upon the list of those who perished in the deadly struggle at Fort Griswold were heard at the roll-calls of a thousand camps, in those glorious armies that gathered from the hill-sides and the valleys to suppress rebellion, preserve the Union, and maintain the honor of the flag. The wives and mothers of the Revolution were not lovelier nor more patriotic than the wives and mothers whose blessings and whose prayers went forth with the loyal and gallant boys, who, from these peaceful homes, passed out into the Union army, — many of whom "marched to their death as gayly as to a bridal, and laid down smiling amid the fiery storm."

While we point with pride to the brilliant record that Connecticut made in the war to shake off the British yoke and win our national independence, may we not point with equal pride to the splendid services rendered by her sons in the deadly strife to save this glorious Union from disruption? The historic page glitters with the facts that "a Connecticut general with Connecticut regiments opened the battle of Bull Run, and closed it; and a Connecticut regiment was marshalled in front of the farm-house at Appomattox, when Lee surrendered to a soldier of Connecticut blood. A Connecticut flag first displaced the palmetto upon the soil of South Carolina; a Connecticut flag was first planted in Mississippi; a Connecticut flag was first unfurled before New Orleans;" and the deeds of daring and devotion, exhibited by Connecticut troops on many a bloody battle-field, won for them imperishable renown.

And now that those days of trial and of bloodshed have passed away, the same devotion to principle, the same love of justice and of right, which filled the hearts of our fathers yet fill our own, and on these hill-sides and these fertile fields around us still lives a people who are ever ready to respond to the calls of duty, and whose pride it will be to see that the principles and institutions, for which they and their fathers have made such costly sacrifices, are not imperilled, but transmitted unimpaired to posterity as the choicest and richest legacy which they can bequeath.

The authorities who had called the two last speakers now demanded the Rev. Leonard W. Bacon, of Norwich, who read the following poem :—

## THE LAY OF GROTON HEIGHT.

BY LEONARD WOOLSEY BACON.

The word went forth from the throne :<sup>1</sup>

*“ Desolate ! desolate !*

*Smite, burn, destroy, till their woes shall atone*

*For the woe and shame of the State !*

*They have shamed the arms of their king ;*

*They have flouted the terms we bring ;*

*High time that vengeance should have full swing*

*Over small and great.*

*“ Reap down their crops with your swords !*

*Harry ! ravage !*

*Hound on the rage of your hireling hordes,*

*Hessian and savage !*

*Of our grace we have offered them oft*

*Fair terms of submission ;*

*They have scorned our words and scoffed*

*At reserve and condition.*

*They are reaching out hands to France ;*

*They welcome our foes' advance ;*

*Go, Clinton, dance those rebels a dance*

*To perdition.”*

So the blaze of Fairfield flushed the sky ;

New Haven's smoke went rolling high ;

Far Norwalk cried with a bitter cry ;

And the sons of the Puritan pioneers

Saw the toil and thrift of a hundred years

Spoiled in an hour.

An answering flame

Blazed back from patriot hearts and true,

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<sup>1</sup> That the scenes of destruction and pillage which ended at New London and Groton were in pursuance of a deliberate policy is seen in the proclamation to the colonies in 1778, and the instructions of Lord George Germain to Sir Henry Clinton in 1779. “Keep the coasts of the enemy constantly alarmed. Destroy their ships and magazines,” &c. &c. — L. W. B.



And scorched with a terrible wrath and shame  
The tory and traitor crew.

The Governor's face grew sad,  
In his store on Lebanon hill,  
He reckoned the men he had ;  
He counted the forts to fill ;  
He traced on the map the ground  
By river, and harbor, and coast, —  
“ Ah, where shall the men and the guns be found  
Lest the State be lost ? ”

The brave State's sons were gone ;  
On many a field they lay ;  
They were following Washington,  
Afar down Yorktown way ;  
The men and the weapons failed,  
They were gone with our free good-will ;  
But Jonathan Trumbull never quailed,  
In his store on Lebanon hill.

There was New London fort,  
And the fort on Groton Height,  
And the rich and crowded port ;  
But where were the men to fight ?  
Might it not be we had erred  
To care for our homes so ill ?  
Nay, never a word of such grudge was heard  
On Lebanon hill.

Remember, citizens, and  
If ever the ill thought comes  
To reck less of the broad, great land,  
And more of your own small homes,  
Think of your fathers' dust ;  
Think of their brave good-will,  
And the Puritan Governor's toil and trust  
On Lebanon hill.

Well, at last drew on the day,  
Dark with ill omen,

Off the mouth of the bay —  
Flapping their wings in the gray,  
Like carrion birds — they lay  
    The ships of the foeman.  
“To talk of defence were wild ;  
We are plundered, burned, beaten, defiled,  
They spare not the old, nor the sick, nor the child,  
    Nor the woman !”

Not so spake Ledyard, brave soul,  
    Our noble commander.  
O History, point, on your roll,  
    To a nobler or grander !  
He stepped from his farm-house door,  
A hero like those of yore.  
Oh ! fair was the look of grace that he wore  
    And of candor !

Now briskly he spoke to his troops :  
    Not a sigh, not a frown ;  
No thought or of fears or of hopes,  
    But of honor and duty alone ;  
No question of gain or loss.  
    Only Home and the Righteous Cause.  
So he signalled the handful of gunners across  
    From the battery under the town.

Few, few, in the big redoubt,  
    The sons of the Puritans stood,  
And over the parapet-wall looked out  
    Beyond the fringe of the wood ;  
Saw the enemy's blood-red lines uncoil  
And wind out snake-like over the soil ;  
    Heard the shrill fifes, piping scorn ;  
    Saw the steel flash back the morn,  
And the cruel cross before them borne —  
    The cross in a field of blood ;—

Looked townward over the bay ;  
    Along the country-roads  
Saw women and children running away  
    With bits of their household goods ;

Saw the red-coats and Hessians  
 Dragging through dust and mire  
 The spoil of their poor possessions ;  
 And at last they saw — *the fire !*

And the Colonel, with glass in hand,  
 Saw the hatefulest sight of all :  
 As the burying-ground he scanned,  
 High over its terrace-wall,  
 He saw that nameless traitor stand  
 On the Winthrops' tomb,<sup>1</sup> to give command  
 For the deeds that his own black heart had planned  
 In its bitterness and gall.

Did the stones stir under his tread ?  
 Did a cry break forth from the dead ?  
 Did the Winthrops' dust rise up,  
 To fling that sacrilege off the bed,  
 Where it slept in a Christian's hope ?

Was it a voice from the tomb ?  
 Was it these scenes of his youth  
 That clouded that shameless brow with gloom ?  
 That softened his heart to ruth ?  
 What moved the mind of the nameless wretch,  
 To send his orders across to fetch  
 The regiments back ?

In sooth  
 'T was too late. The terrible fight  
 Had been fought and lost —  
 The brave, brave fight for the Right,  
 Here upon Groton Height.  
 And O the cost !  
 Men came from the smouldering town ;  
 From the woods and the hills came down,  
 When the enemy had crossed ;  
 And here, in the autumn weather,  
 Lay the dead all tumbled together,

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<sup>1</sup> The tradition of Arnold's standing during the fight on the tomb of the Winthrops is demonstrably unhistorical, but not therefore unpoetical.

Stripped and mangled and tossed.  
The gray-haired men and the boys were seen  
Where they poured their blood on the trampled green,  
And quenched the train to the magazine.

And 'mid the dead hush, faint groans  
Were heard from far down the road, —  
Groans of strong men in anguish, —  
Where the horrible wagon-load,  
Heaped with wounds and with broken bones,  
Had been plunged down over the pitiless stones,  
And they brutally left our gallant ones  
To languish.

Two-score widows of Groton town  
Walked 'mid the corpses up and down ;  
Turned the dead faces up to the light,  
Calling, calling into the night ;  
Listening for word or voice  
From husband, or father, or boys ;  
Waiting, speaking,  
Questioning, seeking  
Over the torn sod, reeking  
With the blood of Groton Height.

And there by the sally-port,  
Where the foe had entered the fort,  
Lay Ledyard, gallant knight,  
His bosom gored  
By his own brave sword,  
And his hero-blood on the ground outpoured  
For the Right.

When the Doxology, "Praise God from whom all blessings flow," was sung, with almost the fervor and enthusiasm of the old war days, the vast throng began to scatter, many to their homes, but others to New London, to witness the military parade and the review by General Sherman, at the Court House.

The line was formed on State Street, and marched through some of the principal streets in the following order : —

- Carriages containing General William T. Sherman ; Colonel Dodge,  
Chief of Staff ; Admiral C. R. P. Rodgers, and the  
Hon. Augustus Brandegee.
- Carriage with His Excellency Governor Hobart B. Bigelow, Adjutant  
General Harmon, and the  
Hon. Benjamin Stark, Chairman of the  
Reception Committee.
- Carriage with ex-Lieutenant Governor Loomis and Ex-Governor  
Rice, of Massachusetts.
- Carriages with Quartermaster General Harbison, Paymaster Gen-  
eral Clapp, Colonels Stowbridge and  
Russell, aids.
- Carriage with Surgeon General Gregory, Colonels Rudd and Bar-  
rows, aids, and Mayor Buckley, of Hartford.  
Platoon of Police.
- Chief Marshal, Col. J. W. Barlow, U. S. A. ; Assistant Marshals,  
Captain John Bishop, Jr., Major W. H. H. Comstock,  
Major Edward W. Bacon, Thomas A. Miner,  
Frederick Gallup.
- Aids, Lieutenant Charles Chaney, Lieutenant Christopher C. Miner,  
Lieutenant Hamilton Perkins.  
Band U. S. Ship Tennessee.
- Regulars from Fort Trumbull, Lieutenant Van Ness.
- Battalion of Sailors and Marines under command of Lieutenant  
Commander Horace E. Elmer, Colonel of Battalion.
- Lieutenant Commander Derby, Major ; Lieutenant Commander  
Washburn Maynard, Colonel.
- First Company of Marine Corps, Captain Mills.  
Second Company, Captain Robinson.  
Third Company, Captain Gibson.
- First Company of Sailors, Lieutenant Haddon.  
Second Company, Lieutenant Turner.  
Third Company, Lieutenant Green.  
Fourth Company, Lieutenant Galloway.
- Brigadier General Stephen R. Smith, commanding Connecticut  
National Guard, and Staff.  
Third Regiment Band of New London.
- Third Regiment C. N. G., Colonel Wm. H. Tubbs.  
Colt's Band of Hartford.
- First Regiment C. N. G., Colonel Lucius A. Barbour.
- American Band of New Haven, Buglers and Drum Corps of Second  
Regiment.

Second Regiment C. N. G., Colonel Chas. P. Graham.  
Wheeler and Wilson Band of Bridgeport, and Fourth Regiment  
Drum Corps.

Fourth Regiment C. N. G., Colonel Geo. S. Crofut.  
National Band of Providence.  
Providence Veteran Association.  
Moodus Drum Corps.  
Perkins Post G. A. R.

The procession was a magnificent display of the pomp and panoply of war, presenting as it did the varied and strongly contrasting features of a military and naval shore review. The marines of the fleet took their position in the van, the guard of the flag-ship holding the right of the line, a fine, handsome company, bravely set off with their dark blue sur-touts, glittering epaulettes, and bright orange facings, their countenances florid with the breath of the sea-god, and their keen eyes glancing beneath the visors of their showy Von Moltke helmets. The guards from the other ships wore a similar uniform, except the helmet, having in its stead the old dress chapeau with pompon, shield, and horizontal visor, not less imposing, and, perhaps to the military critic, adding to the tout-ensemble of the soldier. Nothing could be more perfect than the discipline of these gallant soldiers of the sea, whose every movement in the manual of arms was executed with a precision that Upton never dreamed of; and the firm, steady tread, erect bearing, and square alignment, had little to suggest the proverbial roll of the man-o'-war's-man. The marines were greeted with acclamations throughout the whole length of the line of march, and well they merited the plaudits, for a finer body of men need not be desired to represent the power and prestige of Columbia in foreign waters. Nor were the jolly blue jackets behind in their role (no pun intended), for they showed the effects of thorough training, and that machine-like precision which shed a lustre on the American navy in the days that tried men's souls.

The Connecticut State troops, after the arduous duties of the day, came to the review with unflagging zeal. Their marching was excellent, and their evolutions, particularly the

wheels, could not be made more mathematically precise. The boys marched with a free, elastic step, and showed the amount of latent fire that the enthusiastic recollections of their country's glory could bring to the surface. The review was indeed an appropriate and brilliant finale to a glorious day, and will mark another era in the history of the city by the sea.

In the evening Groton Heights were ablaze with rockets, mines, bombs, and other pyrotechnic displays, while from a platform on the river opposite the city other fireworks seemed to rise out of the ripples, and vie with the display from the squadron at anchor in the lower harbor.

When the last rocket had sent down its stick, those of the crowd who could left by the late trains, while the citizens sought homes, in which the owners quite generally slept on the floor, all semblances of beds being given up to the visitors from far and near, whose kinship or friendship made them welcome guests, whose entertainment was a pleasure.

SEPTEMBER 7, 1881.

This day, in opposition to the last, was clear and hot, generally dubbed "a scorcher."

The crowds of the day before were gone; where there were thousands now hardly hundreds, who in a leisurely manner visited the historic points in New London, as marked by the Historical Committee, and as noon approached began to collect on the Groton side of the river, where, at fifteen minutes before twelve, a procession was formed, and moved in the following order: —

Chief Marshal Col. J. W. Barlow, U. S. A.

Assistants.

Mystic Band, twenty-two pieces. William Taylor, leader.

Moodus Drum Corps, thirteen pieces.

Palestine Commandery, New London, fifty men. Eminent Commander Philo B. Hovey, Generalissimo William H. Bentley,

Captain General William H. Tubbs, Prelate Fred W. Smith.

Tubbs' Band, Norwich.

Columbian Commandery No. 4, Norwich, fifty men, Eminent Commander N. D. Sevin, Generalissimo Costello Lippitt,

Captain General A. D. Smith, Prelate

John J. Keigwin.

Palmyra Encampment, Uniform Patriarchs, Norwich, forty men,

Captain John Steiner, Lieutenants Stephen D. Moore,

A. F. Moore.

The line was formed on Thames Street, and marched to the flag-staff, up King's Road, up Prospect Street, thence up the road back of the Monument, up Fort Street to the refreshment tent, where the Masons and Odd Fellows partook of a collation.

Shortly after two o'clock the Commanderies and Odd Fellows returned to New London, and marched up State to Main Street, up Federal to Huntington, down State, and dismissed. At the court house the procession passed in review before Right Eminent Grand Commander N. J. Welton, of Waterbury; Acting Deputy Grand Commander Daniel Calkins, of East Lyme; Acting Grand Generalissimo C. E. Billings, of Hartford; Grand Captain General A. C. Golding, of Norwalk; Acting Grand Prelate J. E. Wilson, of New Jersey; Grand Senior Warden E. C. Birdseye, of Meriden; Grand Junior Warden J. F. Vodwarka, of New London; Acting Grand Treasurer W. H. Bliss, of Hartford; Grand Recorder John W. Stedman, of Hartford; Acting Grand Standard Bearer H. F. Russell, of Hartford; Acting Grand Sword Bearer E. B. Hill, of Keene, New Hampshire; Acting Grand Warder F. H. Parmelee, of New London, and Past Eminent Commander Wm. B. Thomas, of New London.

The exercises in the grand pavilion on Groton Heights began in the afternoon by an overture in genuine Revolutionary style, from the Moodus Drum Corps, which stirred the people in a way more classical and intellectual music would have failed to equal. The Artillery Band being absent, at the suggestion of one of the reporters, the audience sang "America," General Hawley leading the song. By that time the band had arrived, and played an elaborate selection.

Prayer was offered by the Rev. John P. Taylor: "O God of our fathers, our High Tower, and our Deliverer, we bless Thy name for this holy day. Who are we, strangers on the earth,



that Thou the everlasting King shouldst be mindful of us? We praise Thee for our homes and laws. We adore Thee for our education and history as a commonwealth, for our heroes and martyrs, our Ledyards and our Hales. We magnify Thee that in Thy mercy Thou didst wed, at the dawn and eve of this century, North and South in one common championship of freedom. We glorify Thee for the tender pity of a queen across the seas, and for the sympathy of our dear motherland and all lands in the sufferings of our chief magistrate. What hast Thou not wrought in Thy loving-kindness? O Lord, our God and our King, speak to us through Thine ambassador this afternoon, we beseech Thee. Thou shield of our excellency and sword of our strength! Write truth and courage on the tablets of our hearts. Teach us the breadth and length and depth of a patriotism written in blood! Save us from that evil spirit which stabs humanity in citizen or in president! Breathe into us that good spirit which is the spirit of glory, honor, and immortality! Let this generation tell the generation to come of Thy marvellous acts through men of whom the world was not worthy! Baptize our fields, our marts, our manufactures, our commerce, our art and science, our courts and press, our army and navy, our schools and churches, with the baptism of brave fidelity to duty and to Thee! Make our country like Thyself, — glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders! Raise up our ruler from his sickness, our people from their sins, so that we may live in Thy covenant and die with Thy benediction, and render unto Thee, the blessed and only potentate, through riches of grace in Jesus Christ, the greatness and the power and the majesty and the victory forever and ever! Amen."

ORATION OF REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE.

I am to give you a short account of the short life of Nathan Hale and of his death. I owe this privilege to the accident of birth, of which I gladly avail myself, and will not exceed my privilege. I shall leave it to others, who are around me now, who are far more fit than I am, to study the lessons of that short life of his, and to impress them upon you.

I do not remember any other occasion, when an assembly so large as this came together, expecting any man to give the biography of a young man who had died more than a century before, when he had hardly attained manhood. It is certainly exceptional, that any biographer or eulogist, after a century has passed, should be speaking to thousands of persons who still take a fresh interest in a career so short, almost all the events of which passed in those early years, when the hero of them was, in the eyes of the law, at least, a boy. But Connecticut would not have been true to her history, nor to the honorable place which it holds in the history of the nation, had she permitted the series of centennials to pass by without solemnly devoting one day to the memory of this young man. His short life illustrates much which is most striking in that honorable history of hers. Its incidents cannot be too carefully remembered, if men would know what the Revolution was, and by what motives it was carried through. And we should begin another century unfitly, if we permitted the first century to close without distinct reference to such patriotism and to such sacrifice.

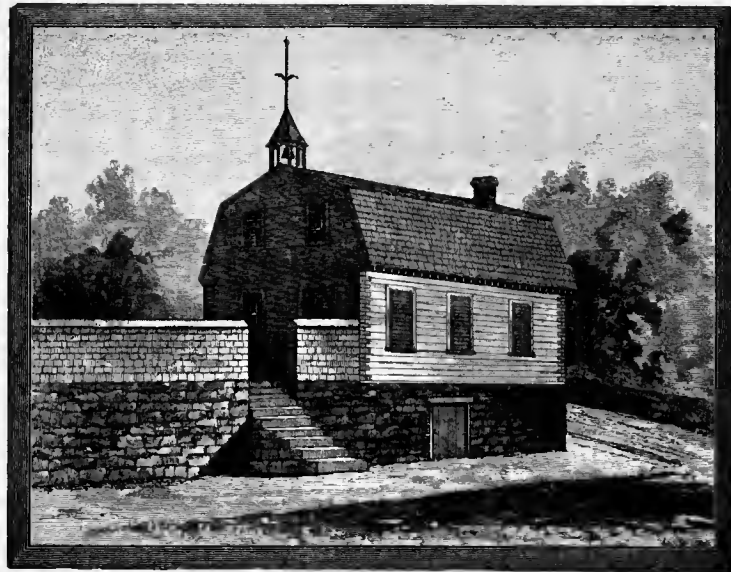
Nathan Hale was born on the 6th of June, 1755, in Coventry, hard by us here, a town in which one would be glad, then or now, to have been born. He was born from a mother whom one would have been proud to have been born from, the son of a father whom one would be glad to call father. His early education, in the midst of a large family of brothers and sisters, was the education of that distinctly domestic type, under definite religious direction, which one is tempted to call a New England education, when one speaks of the best custom of those days. It seems to have been simple without austerity, religious without terror; it looked forward to the best, and upward to the noblest; and there was no service to man or God to which the boy trained in such influences of home, neighborhood, and Church, might not aspire. With his brother Enoch, scarcely a year older than he, Nathan Hale entered Yale College when he was fourteen years old, having in view, perhaps, even then, the profession of a minister, which he certainly had in view afterward. He thus hoped to enter the service both of God and of man.

Before I go further, may I say one word on the visible effect of such distinctly religious training, as given in these old Puritan congregations of New England, in the political struggle of all that time? No man understands the political history of the Revolution, who does not remember what for a century and a half had been the religious and ecclesiastical history of these New Englanders.

They went into the contest with such confidence in their own local governments, and in their sufficiency to combine with others like themselves, that, really, single towns declared war, separately, against George III., the most powerful monarch of his time. Where did such towns learn that lesson of self-reliance? How did they learn with it the other lesson equally important, — that, when a great occasion should arise, such separate communities would stand together, shoulder to shoulder, as if they had been united in the most absolute political order? Why, that was simply the lesson which the Congregational Order had been teaching them from the beginning! In that order, every church is absolutely separate for its own affairs, while it finds no difficulty in uniting, in absolute unity, with its sister churches against the common enemy of mankind. A hundred and fifty years had been teaching that double lesson to the serious citizens of the Connecticut congregations. Well, that is the central lesson of the civil liberty of to-day, — the lesson of local independence for local purposes, and of vital organic unity for all national purposes. It is that double lesson which gives the life and force to every constitution of government which the last century has called into being. I do not care where you find such a constitution. It may be the freshly torn parchment of Bulgaria; it may be the latest constitution of poor Spain: in it, you would find this effort to harmonize local independence and national unity, which first took form successfully when men united the independent congregations of New England in the unity of spirit in a Congregational order. When these men had States to construct, they had their old examples and successes in the Church to guide them.

It is well remembered, among our New London friends

here, that when young Hale addressed the town-meeting just after the battle of Lexington, with the audacity of boyhood, — for he was not yet twenty years old, — he cried, “Let us never lay down our arms till we have achieved our independence.” The late Mr. Marvin, then a child, sat upon his father's knee, and turned and asked his father what the word “independence” meant. What did Hale mean by it? Where had he learned the word? He had learned it in the history of the New England churches. It is those churches which gave the very word to the English language. You will not find it in



UNION SCHOOL-HOUSE, 1774.

Shakspere. You will not find it in Spenser. You will find it only as applied to the religious organizations of Englishmen, if you find it in Lord Bacon. The “Independents,” who crossed to Holland under Robinson and under Bradford, landed at Plymouth; the men who had organized their infant congregations under Brown and Robinson, the men who had crossed to Holland, and under Winslow and Bradford and Brewster had landed at Plymouth, were the men who gave to your language that word, now so august in your history. And it was

to an audience who remembered that history that Hale, who remembered it too, used the word in that bold prophecy of the beginning. He spoke that word in April, 1775. This is before the date of the controverted Mecklenburg resolutions. I am surrounded on this platform by those who know better than I do. Let me ask them if there is on record any public demand for "independency" earlier than this bold proposal of the boy Nathan Hale?

The building in which the Union School was kept by Hale is still standing. It had been recently built by the proprietors, who had obtained incorporation, after Hale became the preceptor of the schools, in October, 1774. There are many persons before me who have heard their fathers and mothers tell of the spirit with which Hale taught. The regular school was of thirty-two boys, "about half of whom were Latiners, and all but one of the rest were writers." In addition to this, he kept for young ladies, through the summer from five to seven every morning, another school, which was attended by about twenty scholars. The rising of the sun would seem to have been on a different calendar from ours, — or the habits of the young people. His school-house was very convenient, he writes. You have seen it, and can judge. He was a favorite in society. Handsome, athletic, frank, wide-awake in the great popular questions which excited society, and true to the old creed of every Connecticut man, — independence in religion and independence in government, — he endeared himself to young and old. He had, in the farewell exercises at New Haven, discussed the question whether the education of daughters be not more neglected than that of sons. Here, in New London, he was in a high way to reform that error, if error there were. He began to contemplate seriously making the teaching of the young his profession for life, and New London his home. Had he done so, you and I might have seen and talked with this delightful old man. We might have heard him tell of this and that abortive effort for freedom which failed, because the sons of Connecticut stayed at home or left it to bounty-jumpers to fight their battles. But, thank God! his was another destiny, and this was not to be.

At that time Hale was not two years out of college. In college he had endeared himself to his instructors and to his classmates. His taste for study, and for the best study, was distinctly formed; and, even in the scanty memorials we have of his short life, it is clear that he was using books, and the best books, thoroughly, carefully, and in every way well. Of that class in Yale College many men gave themselves fully and freely to the country's service. The flower of Yale and of Harvard flung themselves into the army, as they did in these later years of another war for liberty. It is to be observed, indeed, by the student of the American Revolution, that, like all great struggles for popular rights, it was a war fought by young men. General Hawley alluded yesterday to the youth of Lafayette, whose one hundred and twenty-fourth birthday that day celebrated. And when he joined the staff of Washington Lafayette found men near his own age. Hamilton, indeed, was younger than he. Washington himself, whom they so venerated as a father, was in his forty-fourth year when the war began. Ward, who was superannuated as an old man unfit for command, was forty-eight when he was superseded. Knox was but twenty-five when the war began, and many of his companions were not thirty. The young republic needed young blood, and she found it. She was willing to avail herself of the tried wisdom of a Trumbull and a Franklin. She was not afraid to trust the young enthusiasm of a Hamilton and a Hale.

During all Hale's residence in New London as a teacher, he was, in the eye of the law, an "infant." He was not, therefore, technically a "freeman." But he was enrolled in the militia, and he was profoundly interested in the military discipline which the time required.<sup>1</sup> It is his prominence in the community, as a favorite with the young, which permits one not yet of age to speak at the meeting called after the battle of Lexington. He enrolls himself as a volunteer, writes to Coventry for his father's permission to serve in one of the companies of the new establishment, and having, of

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<sup>1</sup> He was a sergeant in The Independent Artillery Co. of New London.

course, received that permission from the sturdy patriot, enlists in Webb's regiment, the Seventh Connecticut, and asks the proprietors of the school to excuse him from future duty. The regiment was one raised by order of the General Assembly that year for home defence, and for the protection of the country at large. In this regiment Hale was first lieutenant; and, after the first of September, captain. The company consisted of seventy-one men, and was organized before the end of July. The first service was in the neighborhood of New London; but on the 14th of September it was marched, by Washington's orders, to the camp at Cambridge.

We have his brief diary of the march of the detachment. It passed by Rehoboth, through Attleborough, Wrentham, Walpole, and Dedham, to Roxbury, where Hale's company encamped on the evening of September 26. They were afterward transferred to Cambridge and Charlestown, and encamped at the foot of Winter Hill. You will remember that when, on the 17th of June, your own General Putnam grimly retired from Bunker Hill, which he had done so much to hold, he said he would be willing to sell another hill to King George at the same price. There was no lack of hills in America. Winter Hill was the next hill; and here, for most of that winter, Webb's regiment was posted. On the 30th of January it was removed to the right wing of the army at Roxbury, under the immediate direction of Ward. In this service it was able to participate in the great enterprise of the occupation of Dorchester Heights, in the work of one night there — work which the English officers of the time described as if it had been a work of enchantment — which drove the English fleet and army from the harbor of Boston, and, as it proved, from the territory of the United Colonies. For nearly five months afterward no foot of an enemy pressed the soil of States which were determined to be free.

Hale's account of the way in which his men and he himself spent that autumn and winter is itself an interesting contribution to one of the most interesting periods of our history. From the city from which those men drove an alien enemy you have asked me, kindly, to come to address you.

This gives me a right to pause a moment to recognize the solid work done in the siege of Boston by the Connecticut contingent. General Hawley has alluded to the zeal and energy of Putnam. In the story of Bunker Hill, the place which Knowlton with his regiment held, the exposed left flank of the American force, proved to be the post of honor as of danger. When Prescott and his men were driven from the redoubt they were received behind Knowlton's force, which preserved its military order, and in military order covered the retreat. Connecticut regiments have had that same thing to do in later wars. What seemed the lethargy of Washington and the American army, in the early summer, was, as we now know, due to their deficiencies in ammunition and in artillery. From the last need they were relieved by the result of the Connecticut conquest of Ticonderoga, so soon as the snow on the Green Mountains became practicable, that the mortars and artillery might be carried across New England to direct their fire upon Boston.

Of that whole winter, the greatest success was not a feat of arms. It was the success, not to be paralleled, hard to understand or to believe, by which one army was disbanded and another enlisted, in the face of an enemy of equal, if not superior, numbers. The besieging army was virtually an army of minute men while the year 1775 lasted. After New Year's Day, in the year 1776, it was an army of men enlisted by the Continent, and enlisted, in most instances, for the war. Every student of our history remembers the intense interest with which Washington watched over this change of his forces. In Hale's Diary, the student has the chance to follow it in its detail. Take such an entry as this: "Promised the men, if they would tarry another month, they should have my wages for that time." It was, I suppose, a face-to-face discussion with almost every private, to induce him to enlist under the new establishment. This effort ends when, having given his own pay to his men, he borrows from Captain Leavenworth the money to go home with, giving him an order for his pay to January, and returns to his father's house. He goes home that he may enlist a new company there. One



month of that frank, friendly, loyal zeal of his is enough, and, on the 27th of January, 1776, the boy, not yet of age, arrives, with recruits who enlist for the war and will stand by to the end, at General Ward's headquarters at Roxbury.

In the great achievement of the fortification of Dorchester Heights, on the 5th of March, which we owe to the military genius of Thomas and Ward and Washington, Hale's regiment seems, as said, to have shared. When the English were fairly on their way to Halifax, Washington foresaw their efforts to occupy New York, and detached Lee and Heath and most of his army to that city. With this contingent was Webb's regiment, and with that army the rest of young Hale's life was spent. He marched with his regiment, which was one of five who came from Cambridge to this place, and sailed hence to New York. This was in the last week of March. Through the exciting summer which followed he was in active service. Of this service a few letters preserve our chief memorial. The first important duty in which he was engaged was the cutting out of an English sloop laden with supplies, which, though under the guns of the *Asia*, man-of-war, was not safe from the amphibious seamen-soldiers of Webb's regiment. At the head of a boat-load of men, Hale boarded her at midnight, and brought her in, in triumph, to the pier. Her stores were distributed as clothing and as food in the army. It was the double capacity of these men, trained for either element, which kept this regiment from Thames River in New York. At one time it was put on the list for detachment to Canada. "But the question was asked whether we had many seamen, and the answer being yes, we were erased, and another put down in our place."

My little story is hastening to its end. But I will not come to that end without saying a word of the work those men did for American liberty, who served it by sea as well as by land. Standing where I stand, in sight of the river from which sailed so many of the American privateersmen, I should but half tell my story if I did not say that word. The truth is that the history of the naval enterprise of the Revolution has never been adequately written out, perhaps cannot be; and,

in the general estimate of the Revolution, the effects of that enterprise are not enough regarded. At the time when Hale died, the war with America was universally popular in England. Five years after, the House of Commons voted that they who advised a continuation of the war in America were enemies of their country; and undoubtedly the House of Commons reflected English opinion. It is my belief, and I think history will show, that the steady change in English opinion in those five years was wrought more by the losses of English merchants on the seas than by the losses of English armies on the land. Even before the French alliance, the annual naval appropriations of Parliament were of necessity larger than those of the army. In the year 1777 alone, only forty English vessels out of two hundred engaged in the African trade escaped the American cruisers. Of the fleet that traded between Ireland and the West Indies, scarcely half escaped. Two hundred and fifty vessels in the West Indian trade, with cargoes amounting to ten million dollars, were captured in a single year. We do not wonder to read that for the insurance of a vessel for a single voyage more than fifty per cent. was paid in England. This war upon the sea was, in practice, carried on by the privateers of Essex County in Massachusetts, and by your own Connecticut seamen here. At the end of the war, the privateer fleet of the port of Salem alone counted twenty-six ships and thirty-three smaller vessels, which carried four thousand men and twelve hundred and eighty guns. The fleet of New London and of this river was probably as strong until the events which yesterday celebrated. The incursion which resulted in the burning of New London was the vengeance of England against this harbor of her enemies.<sup>1</sup>

Captain Hale's web-footed soldiers were called on all that summer in their double capacity. I have no doubt but they were at work with Glover's Marblehead men all that critical night of the 29th of August, when the army retreated from

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<sup>1</sup> General Hawley, behind the speaker, said, at this moment, that it was on record that eight hundred and three prizes were brought into New London in the course of the war.

Brooklyn to the city of New York ; for McDougal had the charge of the transportation, and Webb's regiment was in McDougal's brigade. A week before, in Hale's last letter to his brother, he describes a spirited attempt made by Sergeant Fosdick, of his own company, and four privates to set fire to the frigate *Phoenix*. The attempt was made doubtless under Hale's own orders ; and, though it did not succeed as fully as had been hoped, the men received the thanks and rewards of the General, and the *Phoenix* and her companion returned to the Narrows. "It is agreed on all hands," Washington writes, "that our people behaved with great resolution and intrepidity." Though the *Phoenix* escaped, one of her tenders was captured, and four cannon and six swivels were taken from her.

After the letter describing this gallant affair, we have a few broken notes in Hale's Diary, which closes suddenly with a memorandum of the first skirmishing before the battle of Long Island. After this event, we must trace his short history, with no help from his own pen. Through the month of September, Washington is steadily driven further and further up the island. After the battle of Long Island, Knowlton had organized, under his own command, a separate corps of officers and men from New England regiments. This corps is spoken of as Knowlton's Rangers. The officers and men had volunteered for this service, and on the rolls of their own regiments are spoken of as "detached on command." They received their orders directly from Washington and from Putnam, and were of great service in watching the enemy along the Harlem front. In this little corps of one hundred and fifty men, Hale was one of the captains. Stephen Brown and Thomas Grosvenor were two others. They bore off the honors of the battle of Harlem Heights. In that action, Knowlton was killed. "I asked him," said his Captain Brown, "if he was badly wounded. He told me he was ; but says he, 'I do not value my life, if we do but get the day.' When gasping in the agonies of death, all his inquiry was if we had drove the enemy." They did drive the enemy, they did win the day ; and Knowlton gave his life for the victory. The

spot where he fell can be perfectly identified. It is, I believe, in one of the most picturesque parts of the Central Park. It is of Knowlton that Washington said in General Orders that he was a gallant and brave officer, who would have been an honor to any country. The day will come when some group of bronze in the great Central Park shall bear this inscription in memory of one of Connecticut's noblest sons.

But where is Hale, as these weeks pass by? "The gallant and brave Colonel Knowlton, who would have been an honor to any country, having fallen yesterday, while gloriously fighting, Captain Brown is to take command of the party lately led by Colonel Knowlton." These are Washington's words in General Orders the next day. Hale is not wont to be absent from the field of danger. It is another line of duty to which he is called; and once and again, far away, he hears the shots of distant battles, and wonders whether they are aimed by his foes or by his friends.

He was on special service; on difficult service; service called dishonorable, but service of his country. "We have not been able to obtain the least information," said Washington, on the 6th of September, "of the enemy's plans." In sheer despair at the need of better information than the tories of New York City would give him, the great commander consulted his council, and at their direction summoned Knowlton to ask for some volunteer of intelligence, who would find his way into the English lines, and bring back some tidings that could be relied upon. Knowlton summoned a number of officers, and stated to them the wishes of their great chief. The appeal was received with dead silence. It is said that Knowlton appealed to a non-commissioned officer, a Frenchman, who was an old soldier. He did so only to receive the natural reply, "I am willing to be shot, but not to be hung." Knowlton felt that he must report his failure to Washington, when the youngest of his captains spoke, and Nathan Hale said, "I will undertake it." He had come late to the meeting. He was pale with recent sickness. But he saw an opportunity to serve, and did the duty next his hand.

We have on record from his college classmate, Hull, the

statement which Hale himself made at the moment. Hull says he himself put fairly before Hale the danger of the task and the ignominy attached to it in failure. Hale replied, "I wish to be useful, and every kind of service necessary to the public good becomes honorable by being necessary. If the exigencies of my country demand a peculiar service, its claims to perform that service are imperious." These are the last words which we can report from him till the moment of his death. He promised Hull to take his arguments into consideration, but Hull never heard from him again.

In the second week of September, he left the camp for Stamford, with Stephen Hempstead, a sergeant in Webb's regiment, from whom we have the last direct account of his journey. With Hempstead and Ansel Wright, who was his servant in camp, he left his uniform and some other articles of property. He crossed to Long Island in citizen's dress, and, as Hempstead thought, took with him his college diploma, meaning to assume the aspect of a Connecticut school-master visiting New York in the hope to establish himself. He landed near Huntington, or Oyster Bay, and directed the boatman to return for him at a time fixed by him, the 20th of September. He made his way into New York, and there, for a week or more apparently, prosecuted his inquiries. He returned on the day fixed, and awaited his boat. It appeared, as he thought; and he made a signal from the shore. Alas! he had mistaken the boat. She was from an English frigate which lay screened by a point of woods, and had come in for water. Hale attempted to retrace his steps, but was too late.<sup>1</sup>

He was ordered to remain, was seized and examined. On

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<sup>1</sup> In the rage and distress of the excitement of the time, the rumor spread that Hale was betrayed by a tory kinsman. But the narrative in the text, which is that of Solomon Worden, of Oyster Bay, gives no room for any such treachery; and I know no evidence for it, beyond "'tis said." I know that my father did not believe the story of treachery: I do not think his father did. The fact that the disgrace was now attached to one cousin, now to another, shows almost certainly that it belongs to neither. - E. E. H.

his person were the notes he had taken, written, as it proved, in Latin. They compromised him at once. He was taken on board the frigate, the captain of which expressed his grief that he had to detain so fine a fellow. There was not a day's delay, and Hale was sent back immediately to New York.

He was at once sent, well guarded, to New York. He landed there when the city was in the terrors of a great conflagration. It was on that 21st of September, when nearly a quarter of the town was burned down. Nearly five hundred houses were destroyed. In the midst of the confusion and terror, Hale is marched up to Howe's headquarters, and there he meets his doom.

The trial was short. Hale was not there to prevaricate. Nay, the papers on his person were his condemnation. He was to be hanged the next morning. And only one thing worse can be added to the agony of such a death. He is to be hanged by William Cunningham, provost-marshal of the English army.

Of the sleepless night which followed, we have little memorial. He wrote to his father and family. Cunningham destroyed the letters before his eyes. "The rebels shall not know they have a man who can die so bravely." He asked for a Bible: his request was refused. At morning, he is marched out to the gallows. Cunningham, in derision, bids him speak to the people. And Hale turns and says, in words which are immortal, —

"I only regret that I have but one life to give to my country."

The first news Washington receives of the adventure is by the flag of truce, by which Howe sends him special word that his messenger is hanged.

Thus ends a martyr's life. Hardly three months had passed since he was twenty-one years old.

It is to be wished that some one had asked Washington, while he lived, what was the special information for which he was willing to detach an officer of such worth, under circumstances so critical. Of that object, no record was made. But it is easy to see how difficult yet how necessary it was, in the

first confusion, — the chaos of the retreat from Long Island and the second retreat back on the island of New York, — to learn what was the English force, and, if possible, what the purposes of the commander. The news of Hale's death was received by his friends with an agony of distress. It happened, five years after, that the whole history was recalled again, when André was captured and tried. Major Tallmadge, who had charge of André as a prisoner, broke to him his own fate by telling him the story of Hale, which André knew only too well. André himself alluded to it on his trial. I think Clinton refers to Hale in his note on André's case. I think he means to say that Hale's death was Howe's work, not his. "Thou canst not say I did it."<sup>1</sup> From that time to this time, the parallel between these two young men, both brave, both rash, if you please, and both unfortunate, has often been pursued.

I will not follow it. I am too near in blood and in affection to Hale. I am too far from André in training and habit of thought, and in my notion of what is the object of a man's life. This, only, will I say: that, whoever tells André's story, as he discusses the end of his life, has to carry the weight of the wretched fact that, in André's own letter to his judges, pleading for that life, he makes statements which are untrue, and which he knows are untrue when he makes them. No such difficulty hampers the speaker or the writer who tells the short story of Nathan Hale.

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<sup>1</sup> The passage is: "Mr. Washington ought to remember that I had never, *in any one instance*, punished the disaffected colonists within my power with death, but, on the contrary, had in several shown the most humane attention to his intercession, even in favor of *avowed spies*." It seems to me that, in this passage, Clinton alludes to Howe. No one has ever complained that Hale's sentence, under the laws of war, was not just. He did not complain himself. It was brutally executed. For this, Howe's excuse must be that a quarter of the city was burning when he pronounced sentence: he was in the flush of success, and doubtless thought the whole matter well-nigh over. Whether a prisoner before him did or did not hold a commission, was or was not in service as a soldier, would be of no consequence when the Rebellion was put down, as he probably thought it would be within a few months' time. — E. E. H.

Let me rather close this memorial of one whom I have learned to honor and love, by comparing him with another son of Connecticut, a soldier, and a brave soldier, too, who in that day filled a place far larger than Nathan Hale was called to, but whom, this to-day, every man would be glad if he could forget forever. Benedict Arnold went forth to war at the same summons with Hale. He won early honors and preferment, though Dr. Bacon tells me that his honors were always from those who did not know him, and never from Connecticut herself. No man asks where is his burial-place. No man, after a hundred years, retraces every step of his life, in fond wish to reproduce his history. When he was born, a fond mother gave to him the name of a Christian saint, of one who had been foremost in the triumphs of the church, and, to day, in all the millions of America, there is no man or woman but would as soon call a child by the name of Judas Iscariot as by the name of Benedict. "Who also betrayed her." This is his epitaph. A friend of mine, traveling in the East, met an accomplished Englishman, who joined cordially in the intimacies of travel. But, when the American gave his name to the other, and asked his in return, he hesitated, he begged to be excused. "Indeed, you will be sorry you asked. You will not like me as well as you do now." No, indeed. For the name was the wretched name of Benedict Arnold!

It is not to success in battle, it is not to eloquence of speech, it is to prompt self-sacrifice, it is to readiness to die when one's country calls, that the honors of to-day are given. It is to such sacrifice, such loyalty, and such truth that we owe it, that any man may be proud indeed, this day, that he is called upon to say a halting word in memory of NATHAN HALE.

At the conclusion of Mr. Hale's address, which was received with appreciative applause, the Rev. Leonard Bacon, of New Haven, was introduced by the president.

The venerable divine spoke briefly. During his remarks he referred to the "acquaintance" spoken of in Nathan Hale's last letter, being, indeed, the lady of his choice, who in



her last hours, when the mind reverts to early life, murmured, "Write to Nathan." This lady was a member of the church Dr. Bacon attended in his youth, thus an acquaintance of his.

After this the Secretary of the Groton Heights Centennial Committee proposed a resolution, "That the Connecticut Legislature be memorialized to appropriate funds for the erection of a statue or monument to Nathan Hale, the martyr spy, in the Capitol at Hartford."

The resolution was unanimously indorsed by the audience, and Senator Joseph R. Hawley, ex-Governors Richard D. Hubbard and Charles R. Ingersoll, Dr. Leonard Bacon, Mayor Robert Coit, and Hon. Thomas M. Waller, were appointed a committee to assume charge of the matters relating to the resolution. By request the audience arose and sang the Doxology, with a reverential spirit, and after a benediction by the Rev. Thomas L. Shipman the gathering dispersed.

The celebration was brought to a close by a grand illumination of New London, which surpassed anything of the kind ever before attempted in that city.

The illumination was too general to make individual mention possible; each one did what they could, from the one small lantern bought with the hardly saved pennies of the almost pauper child, to the thousand fanciful lanterns and calcium lights of the millionaire.

From the Parade to the city limits, from Water Street to the Park, the citizens had realized that this was a celebration that would never occur again for them, and improved the opportunity, producing a fairy display to be remembered one's life through.

The streets were filled till a late hour with pedestrians viewing the different displays.

Thus ended the Centennial Celebration of the heroism of Groton Heights and the burning of New London. We trust it leaves naught but pleasant memories, and certainly New London and Groton will have reason to congratulate themselves if they ever bring together again so vast a crowd, entertain it so well, and send it home with so little accident.



## APPENDIX B.

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IN acknowledging the receipt of an invitation to be present on the occasion of the Centennial Celebration at Groton Heights, Mr. Benson J. Lossing wrote as follows to the Invitation Committee : —

THE RIDGE, DOVER PLAINS P. O., DUTCHESS COUNTY, N. Y., }  
August 22, 1881. }

GENTLEMEN : — Your kind invitation to participate in the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the battle of Groton Heights was duly received, and I have delayed a response with the hope that I might be able to accept it, but I regret to say circumstances will deny me the pleasure of such participation. I cordially thank you for the invitation. The occasion is one of such deep interest in its relations to our national history that it should excite the liveliest sympathy of every patriotic American citizen. The battle of Groton Heights, sad and disheartening to the friends of freedom as were its immediate results, proved to be the decisive preliminary skirmish before the great battle which secured victory to the patriots of Yorktown a few weeks later. Treason and toryism were so conspicuously hateful at New London and Groton on the occasion which you now celebrate, and the savagism of both, directed by the merciless mailed hand of oppression and wrong, committed such cruel outrages, that the great heart of the struggling Americans, at first appalled, received unwonted strength and determination. The horror and indignation awaked by the crackling flames at New London, and the cries of the victims murdered at Fort Griswold sounding in the ears of the patriots before Yorktown, gave strength to their arms, keenness to their blades, sharpness to their bayonets, precision to their bullets, and indomitable energy to their will in the final battle which secured independence to Americans. The events on Groton Heights and at Yorktown are as inseparable as cause and effect. Again thanking you, I remain, gentlemen,

Your friend and fellow-citizen,

BENSON J. LOSSING.

To J. George Harris, Benjamin Stark, Hugh H. Osgood, Charles Perrin, James A. Billings, Invitation Committee.

Hon. George Bancroft wrote as follows to his old friend, Mr. J. George Harris, President of the Centennial Committee : —

NEWPORT, August 22, 1881.

MY DEAR HARRIS : — To receive a letter from an old faithful friend is a delight to me in my octogenarian year. Of course, I should wish to take you by the hand, but I am here in the power of printers and correctors of the press, and cannot leave home even for a day. You must, to all who speak to you upon the subject, express how entirely my heart is with them on the great occasion which they celebrate, and how I think the country people that won the day in the struggle of the Revolution deserve to be remembered and praised as much as the Greeks of Marathon. Their courage and love of country should be celebrated not at the end of a century only, but of a thousand years.

Ever, in true affection, yours,

GEORGE BANCROFT.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MARCH 15, 1880.

John Turner, Wait, member for the Third District of Connecticut, introduced the following bill, which he had the pleasure of seeing passed after the usual delays : —

AN ACT appropriating money towards the expense to be incurred in the Centennial Celebration of the battle on Groton Heights, and for other purposes.

Whereas, the battle of Groton Heights was one of the closing events of the American Revolution, preceding the final surrender of the British forces at Yorktown, in Virginia, only one month and thirteen days, and is logically and historically connected with that great event ; and

Whereas, the State of Connecticut has already commenced preparations for the Centennial Celebration of this battle, the massacre attendant upon the capture of Fort Griswold, and the burning of New London, — all scenes in the bloody drama of September sixth, seventeen hundred and eighty-one ; and

Whereas, the people of the other States of the Union, proud of the part which their fathers took in achieving American independence, and actuated by the feeling of a common brotherhood, must desire to unite with the people of Connecticut in paying a proper tribute to the patriotism, dauntless courage, and heroic sacrifice of the noble band of men who fought valiantly against superior numbers of British troops, and chose death rather than surrender their homes to the brutality and lust of the invaders : Therefore,

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the sum of five thousand dollars be, and the same is hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be expended by the Centennial Committee of the Groton Monument Association, under the direction of the Secretary of War, for the purpose of aiding to defray the expenses which will be incurred in celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the battle and massacre at Fort Griswold, or Groton Heights, and the burning of New London, on the sixth day of September, seventeen hundred and eighty-one, in such manner as shall befit the historical significance of that event, and be indicative of the present power, prosperity, and greatness of the United States as a nation.

*Battle of Groton Heights.*

SEC. 2. That the further sum of five thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, be, and the same is hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the purpose of thoroughly repairing the granite monument erected in eighteen hundred and twenty-six on Groton Heights, and to be disbursed under the direction of the Groton Monument Association. \*

SEC. 3. That the Centennial Committee of the Groton Monument Association are hereby authorized to enter upon and use the battle-field on Groton Heights at such times and in such manner as may be necessary for the Centennial services.

Approved, March 2, 1881.

## RECEIPTS OF THE CENTENNIAL COMMITTEE.

|                                              |                    |
|----------------------------------------------|--------------------|
| From Congress of the United States . . . . . | \$5,000.00         |
| " the Legislature of Connecticut . . . . .   | 3,000.00           |
| " subscriptions . . . . .                    | 2,480.00           |
| " rent of ground . . . . .                   | 120.00             |
| " receipts for transportation . . . . .      | 1,008.50           |
| " interest . . . . .                         | 56.25              |
| Total receipts . . . . .                     | <u>\$11,664.75</u> |

## EXPENSES OF THE COMMITTEES.

|                                                                 |                    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|
| Historical . . . . .                                            | \$246.75           |
| Finance . . . . .                                               | 29.53              |
| Military . . . . .                                              | 324.98             |
| Transportation . . . . .                                        | 1,959.42           |
| Invitation . . . . .                                            | 152.00             |
| Reception . . . . .                                             | 437.75             |
| Music . . . . .                                                 | 251.00             |
| Entertainment . . . . .                                         | 1,304.82           |
| Decorations, tents, seats, police, etc. . . . .                 | 2,214.42           |
| Civic bodies . . . . .                                          | 148.63             |
| Publication . . . . .                                           | 325.34             |
| Fireworks . . . . .                                             | 1,008.00           |
| Press . . . . .                                                 | 148.95             |
| Ladies Committee . . . . .                                      | 100.00             |
| Miscellaneous expenses . . . . .                                | 360.34             |
| Total . . . . .                                                 | <u>\$9,011.93</u>  |
| Paid to treasurer of Groton Monument Association . . . . .      | \$1,970.00         |
| Returned to subscribers at their request <sup>1</sup> . . . . . | 532.00             |
| Balance on hand <sup>2</sup> . . . . .                          | 150.82             |
| Total . . . . .                                                 | <u>\$11,664.75</u> |

<sup>1</sup> A part of this was on receipt paid into the treasury of the New London County Historical Society.

<sup>2</sup> A large part of this sum is appropriated, but not yet paid out.



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*"And here will I make an end. And if I have done well, and as is fitting the story, it is that which I desired; but if slenderly and meanly, it is that which I could attain unto." — MACCABEES.*

## ERRATA.

Page 231, for "Sarah Halsey," read "Sarah Haley."













